STUPA

art, architectonics and symbolism

by

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

English version of

INDO-TIBETICA I.

Mchod-rten and tsha-tsha in Indian and Western Tibet
Contribution to a study of Tibetan religious art
and its significance

translated into English by

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INTRODUCTION

In 1932 Professor Giuseppe Tucci published his fundamental work *Indo-Tibetica I* on the mchod-rten and tsha-tsha in Indian and Western Tibet, as a contribution to the study of Tibetan religious art and its meaning. As the work appeared in Italian, very few scholars have benefitted by the crucial results of Tucci's investigations and perceptions. Moreover, Indologists hardly ever approached it, as Tibetan art was no concern of theirs. As Tucci used the Tibetan terms mchod-rten and tsha-tsha, the topic became even more alien and far-fetched to scholars of Indian art. Mchod-rten is a stupa and tsha-tsha is a votive stupa. Tsha-tsha are of two kinds: one stamped with a seal (Hindi *ṭhappā*) on a piece of clay, in a two-dimensional representation and the second kind are three-dimensional mouldings from a mould, in the round, from what is termed a *sācā* in Hindi, *sañca[ka]* in Sanskrit, from which is derived the Tibetan term *tsha-tsha*. The work of Tucci is basic to an understanding of the function of the stupa, its architecture and the significance of its various parts, and its symbolism in general. Tucci's translation of classical Sanskrit works on the architectonics of the stupa, like the text of Sahajavilāsa which is preserved only in a Tibetan translation, make this book a must for every student of Indian art.

The present English translation is fairly close to the Italian original. Sanskrit equivalents of Tibetan terms have been used throughout to make it accessible to a wider audience, e.g. stupa (mchod-rten). The word stupa has been treated as an English word and the macron has not been marked on top of u. The transcription of Tibetan has been normalised: ạ=ḥ, γya'=g.yaḥ.

The main thrust of Prof. Tucci is to understand the Indian soul deeper and better: 'This world by now should no longer interest us merely as a vast field for philological exercises. . .(p. 9).' The profundity which Prof. Tucci bears on the subject gives a creative view, an inner vision, the original perspective in which stupa originated and evolved.

The concept of stupa or caitya is dominated as their being funerary monuments. It is the first meaning, e.g. in Monier-Williams. Prof. Tucci (p. 21) clearly shows that the Eight Caityas represent the main events in the *life* of Lord Buddha. He cites a few enumerations. A vidhi in the Tanjur enumerates the following eight stupas:

Name of Stupa	*Locality*

Grand Miracle	Śrāvastī
Preaching	Varāṇasī
Submission of the elephant	Rājagṛha
Descent from heaven	—
Offering of honey by the monkey	Vaiśālī
Mahāparinirvāṇa	Malla country

The Eight Stupas according to Sahajavilāsa and Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po are:

Name of stupa	*Locality*	*Builder*
Descent from heaven	Kapilavastu	Śuddhodana
Enlightenment	Magadha	Ajātaśatru
Grand Miracle	Kuśīnagara	Malla
Preaching	Vārāṇasī	Brahmadatta
Kanika	Vaiśālī	Licchavi prince
Stupa of Many Doors	Śrāvastī	Prasenajit
Noble or Brilliant	Tshad-ge	Śuñcidala
Lotus-shaped	Tikacaśi	Indrasvāmin

The Eight Stupas in Vaiḍurya-g.yaḥ-sel are:

Descent from heaven	Sāṅkāśya	its inhabitants
Enlightenment	Rājagṛha	Bimbisāra
Grand Miracle	Jetavana	Licchavis
Stupa of Many Doors	Vārāṇasī	Pañca-bhadriya
Brilliant or Reconciliation	Rājagṛha	Jeta
Accumulated Lotuses	Kapilavastu	Śuddhodana
Nirvāṇa	Kuśīnagara	Malla
Grace or Victor	Vaiśālī	its inhabitants

The Lotus-shaped Stupa or the Stupa of Accumulated Lotuses is Padmākara in the Srilankan tradition.

A Chinese text translated by Dharmabhadra (lied 985. K 1227a, T1685, Nj 895) has another list:

Birth	Lumbinī Garden in Kapilavastu
Enlightenment	On the banks of the Nairanjanā river in Magadha
Preaching	Vārāṇasī in the country of Kāśī
Grand Miracle	Jetavana in Śrāvastī
Descent from Trayastriṁśa heaven	Kānyakubja in the country of Sāṁkāśya
Reconciliation	Rājagṛha
Meditation over the length of his life	Vaiśālī
Nirvāṇa	Kuśīnagara

The Tibetan version of Aṣṭa-mahāsthāna-caitya-stotra (Toh 1133, Cone KA 209, Peking 2024, Nakamura 1980:259-265) has the same list:

Birth	Kapilavastu
Enlightenment	Bodhi tree on the banks of Nairañjanā in Magadha
Preaching	Kāśī
Grand miracle and vanquishing of heretics	Jetavana in Śrāvastī
Descent from heaven	Sāṁkāśya
Reconciliation	Veṇuvana of Rājagṛha
Abandoning the residue of life	Vaiśālī
Nirvāṇa	Kuśīnagara

The above lists show all kinds of divergences in the eight stupas: the events they commemorate, their localities, as well as their builders. Sahajavilāsa and Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po omit the stupas of birth as well as parinirvāṇa, true to the vaitulya tradition where birth of Lord Buddha is a *līlā/lalita* and his nirvāṇa in left out. One fact stands out: the stupa/caitya commemorated main events in the life of the Master and the Nirvāṇa-stupa at Kuśīnagara was an event in his Life. If stupa/caitya had been primarily a funerary monument, it would not have been associated with the birth of Lord Buddha. That would be blasphemous.

The Tibetan tradition was close both in spirit and expression to the Indian. The Tibetans inherited not only the world-view of Buddhism to its minutest detail and in full fidelity, but also devoted extra care to render Sanskrit terms into Tibetan. The classical Indian commentators were consulted before the Tibetan equivalent of a technical term was finalised. This is evident from the lexical work *Sgra sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* in the Tanjur, which is a handbook for the art of translation. This text illustrates at length as to how Sanskrit words were rendered into Tibetan. Prof. Nils Simonsson (1957:238-280) has edited, translated and annotated 17 articles out of its 450. They reveal the meticulous precision with which the original sense of Sanskrit has been conveyed in Tibetan. The *Sgra sbyor* is an introduction to the Mahāvyutpatti. The latter lexicon translates both stupa and caitya by *mchod-rten* in Tibetan: see references in my *Tibetan Sanskrit Dictionary* 757-758. The word means 'a receptacle (rten) of offerings (mchod), and is the translation of a folk etymology of the word *stupa: stū* 'to laud, to pray, to worship'+*pa* 'guarding, protecting', that which protects or preserves offerings given in worship.

Prof. Tucci (p. 24) emphasises that the eight stupas are not to be mistaken with the eight stupas erected to contain the relics of the Buddha. They have nothing in common with tombs or reliquaries. They commemorate four essential moments of the life and four famous miracles of Lord Buddha. The Tibetans took them as models for their stupas. Most of the stupas in Tibet have a symbolic value. Prof. Tucci (p. 26) reiterates: generally in Tibet the stupas have no funerary character. And if by chance this character should be present, then it is merely a secondary one. To build a stupa meant to renew the preaching of the Dharma (p. 28). The entire work of Prof. Tucci inspires a re-consideration of the fundamental character of the stupa, the circumstances of its popularisation, the stupa as a repository of sacred objects, and symbolism attributed to it in Theravāda and Mahāyāna.

Prof Tucci (pp. 48-49), however, says: "the superimposition of the various parts of the stupa seems, nevertheless, to have been connected with the theory of the five elements". He is describing the Japanese *gorintō*, which means *go* 'five', *rin* 'circles', *tō* 'dhātugarbha'. The gorintō is a tombstone made in five different parts symbolising the five elements of the universe. The five parts, which are put one on the other, have the forms of a square, globe, triangle, half-globe, and gem, from bottom to top (JEBD. 1965:87a). The five elements are the components of all matter. To merge into the five elements is dissolution, death. *Pañcatvam gataḥ* 'dissolved into fivefoldness' means dead. It is a common expression in Sanskrii. The gorintō is the samaya form of Mahāvairocana in Japan, which means that the deceased person who is commemorated by the gorintō, has merged into Mahāvairocana. To this day, a deceased person goes to the heaven of his deity, a Vaiṣṇava goes to the Vaikuṇṭha paradise of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu-padam gataḥ*). Gorintō has not to be associated with the stupa in general.

Prof. Tucci (p. 53) discusses the various etymologies of the Tibetan expression *tsha-tsha*. He derives it from an imagined Prakrit *sacchāya* or Sankrit *sat-chāya* 'perfect reproduction'. This word has the following variants in Cordier:

2.86 (21.61) sātstsha (var. sāccha)
2.85 (21.55) sātstsha (var. sāccha)
2.104 (23.35) sa-tsha (var. sācā)
2.193 (44.26) tsha-tsha (var. sāccha)
2.272 (60.29) tsha-tsha (var. sāccha)
2.319 (68.153) sātstsha (var. sacha, tsha-tsha)

The Sanskrit equivalent in Cordier is sañca[ka]. The *a-chuṅ* at the bottom of the first syllable *sa* represents an ancient nasalisation. The Tibetan seems to be derived from a NIA form like the Hindi *sācā*. Moulds are used to this day by the Tibetans to produce small votive stupas and I myself have a beautiful metallic mould for a complex stupa.

A tsha-tsha from Stok (No. 44) is said to have the representations of 56 small figures of stupas around a central stupa. The sacral number would be 54 (half of the holy 108) with 1 central stupa+8 on the third, 18 on the second and 27 on the first round. They are multiples of 9 (9, 18, 27) that total up to 54.;

THE THREE WORDS

There are three expressions in Sanskrit: stupa, caitya, and dhātugarbha. The Japanese gorintō does not have a Sanskrit 'counterpart

Modern interpretation of the three terms is dominated by their being deemed to be funerary monuments.

STUPA. The word tope for stupa was first introduced into English in 1839. It has three quite distinct senses, from distinct origins. In the meaning of a Buddhist monument: "the word *tope* is in local use in the N.W. Punjab, where ancient monuments of this kind occur, and appears to come from Skt. *stupa*, through the Pali or Prakrit *thupo*... The word was first introduced to European knowledge by Elphinstone in his account of the tope of Manikyala in the Rawulpindi District, in the year 1839: 'Tope is an expression used for a mound or barrow as far west as Peshawer. .. (Mount-Stewart Elphinstone, *Account of the Kingdom of Caubool*, 2nd ed., 1.108, cited from Hobson-Jobson 1903:934-935). It may be useful to point out the meaning of barrow "hill or hillock, an ancient grave-mound, tumulus". At the very outset, the interpretation of Elphinstone had conditioned the semantic direction of the stupa with an inherent sense of barrow or mound.

Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, renders stupa as "a Buddhist monument, dagoba (generally of a pyramidal or dome-like form and created over sacred relics of the great Buddha or on spots consecrated as the scenes of his acts) MWB 504; a relic shrine or relic casket MWB 397, 504". Edgerton (1953:608) defines a stupa as a "relic mound, tope". Liebert (1976:283) opines that the stupa "was originally a topknot of hair, designating the upper part of head but subsequently became used as an architectural term, indicating a monument of a pyramidal or dome-shaped form over the sacred relics of the Buddha (or other saints). Thus stupa is a sepulchral monument...". Liebert defines caitya as "a funeral monument, also reliquary". In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, stupa means a Buddhist monument. The first reference is dated to 1876: Fergusson, *Ind. & East. Archit.* I.iii.357 "the difficulty was met by assigning a portion of the remains of Buddha to each of the contending parties, who are said to have erected stupas to contain them."

CAITYA. According to Monier-Williams a caitya is a "funeral monument or pyramidal column containing the ashes of a deceased person". To Edgerton (1953:233) a caitya is "an object of veneration". Upasak (1961:116): "caitya was probably connected with the funeral pyre (*citā*) and hence a structure over it was called a caitya". But he cites many caityas 'shrines' which were dedicated to yakkhas or devas and were later on converted into vihāras. In the tradition of Srilanka, the Kalyani caitya was built on the spot where Buddha preached. These caityas have nothing to do with relics.

DHĀTUGARBHA is the technical term for a monument containing dhātus or relics. But here too the relics are for the sanctification of a place. Its purpose is not sepulchral. Scholars were aware of this fact, but it was overlooked all the time.

GORINTO. In Japan *gorintō* is distinct from a stupa. A gorintō of a body and is not worshipped;

The emphasis on the stupa/caitya being a funerary or sepulchral monument *per se* was enhanced by the fact that the academic world of the 19th century, which was deeply engrossed in the study of Egyptology, was preoccupied with the pyramids. The pyramids were tombs of the sovereigns of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, with the burial chambers beneath, deep underground (EB. 8.89). The minds of scholars reared in the Classical traditions of Greek and Latin were fascinated by Egypt to which Greece was deeply indebted as already perceived by the Greek historian Herodotus. The study of Sanskrit or Buddhism was an extension of Classical learning. The constellation of discoveries in the Classical and Egyptian studies had a deep impress on all Orientalists and the conceptualisation of Buddhist themes did not escape this tendency.

The Buddhist tradition itself clearly points out that there are three kinds of caityas:

(i) paribhotta-cetiya containing objects used by the Buddha. Also called paribhoga-cetiya;

(ii) dhātu-cetiya, containing corporeal relics of the Buddha, of an apostle, or of a saint. Also called sārīrika cetiya.;

(iii) dhamma cetiya, by inserting the pratītya samutpāda formula. Also termed uddesika. It can be consecrated by an image.

The relevant text runs: *tividham hi buddha cetiyam: paribhotta-cetiyam dhatu-cetiyam dhamma-cetiyan'ti/tattha bhagavato/paribhutt-upkara-nadini nidahitva katam cetiyam paribhotta-cetiyam nama/dhatuyo nidahitva katam dhatu-cetiyam nama/paticca-samuppadadi-likhita potthakam nidahitva katam dhamma-cetiyam nama/saririkam paribhogam uddesikan'ti evam'pi cetiyam tippabhedam hoti. "ayam pabhedo patim-rupakassapi uddesika-cetiyena sangahitatta sutthutaram yujjatiti" vinaya-tikayam gauttam//*] (Minayeff 1871:78-79).

Sārasaṅgaha (written by Siddhattha, a pupil of Buddha-ppiya the chief of the Dakkhinārāma at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of fourteenth centuries, Norman 1983: 173) describes three types of cetiyas: (i) paribhotta or paribhoga cetiya, (ii) dhātu or sārīrika-cetiya, (iii) dhamma- or uddesika-cetiya. Dhamma-cetiya has scriptural works or image(s). An uddesika-cetiya commemorates an important event in the life of Lord Buddha. Thus in this Pali passage we have a clear statement that caityas were multipurpose. All of them there sanctified by an association with Lord Buddha and some were consecrated by his very bodily relics. Stupa/caitya in Buddhism was first and foremost a religious monument to inspire credence in the Dharma.

Stupa with sūtras. The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (SP) speaks of Buddha-shrines erected without relics where dharmakāya/dharmaparyāya is preached or studied: "Again Bhaiṣajyarāja, on any spot of the earth where this dharmakāya is expounded, preached, written, studied, or recited in chorus, on that spot one should build a tathāgata-shrine (caitya) magnificent, consisting of precious substances, high and spacious, but it is not necessary to depose in it relics...any spot of the earth where this dharmaparyāya is taught...must be honoured, respected, revered, worshipped as if it were a stūpa:.." (SP 10 in SBE 21.220).

"Any Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, who after Tathāgata's complete extinction shall keep this Dharmaparyāya...And where that young man or young lady of good family, Ajita, stands, sits, or walks, there one should make a caitya, dedicated to the Tathāgata, and the world, including the gods, should say: This is a stupa of the Tathāgata" (SP. 16.36 in SBE 21.324, *mutatis mutandis*).

"And whereever such a sage is walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, whereever the hero pronounces were it but a single stanza from this sutra:

"61. There one should build a stupa for the most high of men, a splendid, beautiful (stūpa), dedicated to the Lord Buddha, the Chief and then worship it in manyfold ways" (SP. 16.60-61 in SBE. 21.327).

"Wherever on earth by young men of good family this Dharmaparyāya shall be made known, read, written, meditated, expounded, studied or collected into a volume, be it a monastery or at home, in the wilderness or in a town, at the foot of a tree or in a palace, in a building or in a cavern on that spot one should erect a caitya in dedication to Tathāgata". (SP. 20 in SBE. 21.367)

STŪPA

The Sanskrit word *stūpa* occurs as early as Ṛgveda, Taittirīya-saṁhitā and Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmaṇa. In these passages the word is translated as 'a knot or tuft of hair, the upper part of the head, crest, top, summit' by MW. In Taittirīya-saṁhitā 3.3.6,5 it is translated by Keith as "topknot of hair designating the upper part of the head". Griffith translates the word *stūpa* in Ṛgveda 7.2.1 as "columns". Sāyaṇa's translation differs considerably: *stūpaiḥ taptaiḥ, tanvaiḥ,* He considers it as an adjective of *raśmibhiḥ,* But in Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa (P.B.) 13.4.4 Sāyaṇa translates it as *stūpaḥ śṛṅgayor madhyaḥ* which according to W. Caland's English translation of PB. stūpa is the 'upper part of the head'.

In Ṛgveda 1.24.7 stūpa means 'tree's stem' (Griffith's translation). Sāyaṇa translates it as *stūpaṁ saṁgham.*

Grassmann (1872:1594) gives the meaning of stūpa as "Schopf, Scheitel". *Schopf* is crown, top of the head, tuft of hair, tree top. *Scheitel* means top, vertex, apex, summit, crown (Cassell 1957:411).

Stupa occurs in Vājasaneyī saṁhitā 2.2, 25.2 and Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Keith translates it as 'a tuft of hair', Eggeling: 'topknot or crest' (Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 1.3.3.5) and 'crest lock' (Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 3.5.3.4).

The word *stukā* in Ṛgveda 9.97.17, Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā 25.6, Atharvaveda 7.74.2 and Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 3.2.1.13 also has the meaning of 'tuft of hair, lock of hair' (in Griffith's translation of the passages). But Sāyaṇa translates *stukāśabdo apatyavacanaḥ* (Ṛgveda 9.97.17).

In Dhātupāṭha 26.127, 32.133, the root *stūp* occurs in the fourth and tenth classes in the parasmaipada as *stūpyati* and *stūpayati* 'to heap up, pile, erect' (MW. 1260). MW. presumes this to be "prob. invented as a root for stupa". The root *stūp* and the noun *stūpa* was a living lexeme as evidenced by its derivatives in several NIA languages distributed over vast areas from Afghanistan to Lahndi, Hindi, Oriya and Assamese in the easternmost region of India (see Turner 1966: 13710, 13711, 13723); Pali *thūpi-kata* 'heaped up', Prakrit *thūva* 'heap', Waigali dialect of Kafiristan *śtu* 'pillar, post', Kumaoṇi *thūp* 'heap', Assamese *thupā* 'heap of straw', Khaśālī dialect of Western Pahari *thoa* 'tethering post', Hindi *thopnā* 'to cover, hide, heap, collect', *thupānā* 'to cause to prop or be propped' (from **stopyate*, Turner 1966: 13723).

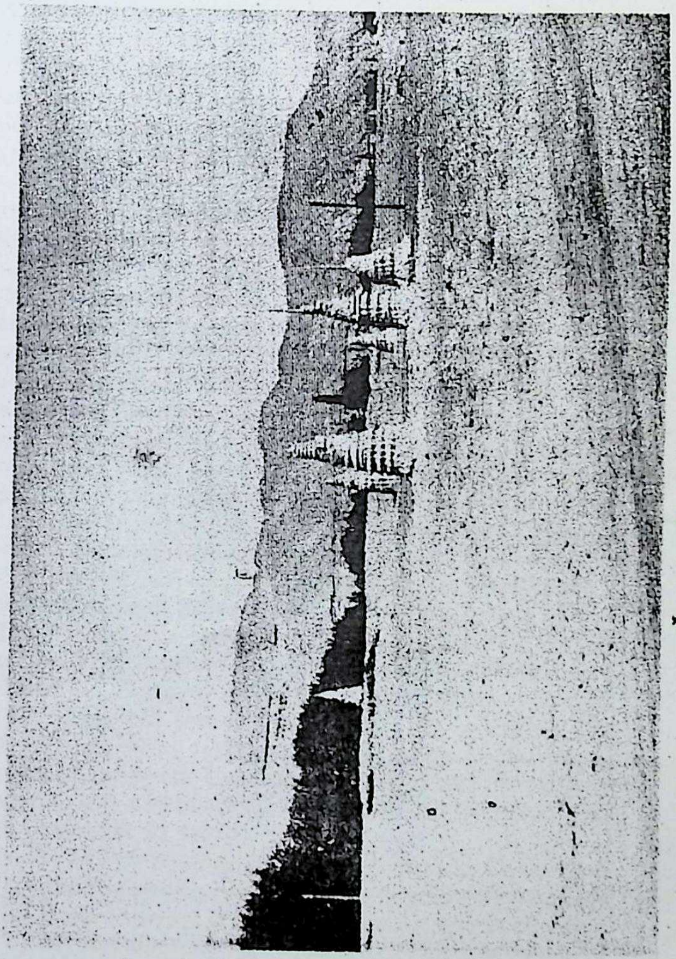
In the Vāçasptya lexicon, stūpa is a pile-up of clay, a meaning supported by its Hindi derivative *thopnā*. This is confirmed by I-tsing who visited India in the seventh century (A.D. 671-695): "the priests and laymen of India make caityas (stūpas) or images with earth... Sometimes they build stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile and surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these stūpas in lonely fields and leave them to fall in ruins". The word stupa can also be derived from *stūp* which means "to raise well up, raise aloft, elevate" (*samucchrāye*)". a well-raised, elevated structure rising high. The relevant passage from the Vācaspatya lexicon is cited below:

स्तूपः...मृदादिकूटः। राशीकृत-मृत्तिकादिः। १ राशीकृते मृत्तिकादौ, २ संघाते, ३ बले, ४ निष्प्रयोजने च संक्षिप्त-सारोणादिवृत्तिः।
स्तूप्यते वा। 'ष्टुप समुच्छ्राये' (चु. प. से.) इति पुंल्लिग-संग्रहे अमरः ३.५.१६ ॥

The word is also attested in Greek *stupos* 'stem, stump, block', (Liddell/Scott 1929:1441) from Greek STUP, akin to Gk STUPH. Compare the cognates in Latin *stipes, stipa, stupeo,* and in Lithuanian *stups, stupe,* pl. *stupas* (Uhlenbeck 1898: s.v. *stūpaḥ*). In Icelandic *stupa* is 'tower' (Elliot 1867:1.505)

The stupas, shown on the opposite page, are from Tun-huang. They are clearly thatched up with clay against a pole in the centre forming the fulcrum. In Pali *thūpikata* means 'heaped up'(Childers 1875:505),'heaped, of an alms-bowl: so full that its contents bulge out over the top, Vinayapiṭaka 4.191' (Stede 1921:144). Thus we see that its being thatched up is prominent in Sanskrit, Pali and NIA languages, like *thopnā* in Hindi. The axial pole in the stupa reflects the sense of Greek *stupos* 'stem, stump'.

In the aforesaid evidence we can catch glimpses of the very beginnings of the stūpa as an element of the agricultural economy of early man. In its earliest stages it was a 'tethering post' for an animal (compare Khaśālī *thoa* 'tethering post') made out of a wooden stump to keep the



pecunia 'money', originally property in cattle, from *pecus* 'catttle'. When the animal sat around the post, it urinated and excreted on the ground, rendering it hard and impervious to grain pests. To this day, the earth is plastered with cow-dung in Indian villages, to keep away pests injurious to grain. In course of time, the ground hardened by dung-plastering, was used to store grain. Sheafs of grain were heaped around the tethering post and clay was laid around the rim: reflected in the meaning of the root *stūp* 'to heap up, pile', Assamese *thupā* 'heap of straw', and Hindi *thopnā* refers to laying clay around the heaped sheafs of grain. By and by the heap of grain rose to the top of the post and was covered around with clay and dung, leaving a vent at the top for ventilation. What was a tethering stump became a beautiful elongated rotund structure. Such grain silos can be seen to this day in villages in India, symbols of economic security till the next crop or warranting a longer spell of freedom from want in case of failure of next crop. In its earliest form and function, the stūpa represented a stabilisation of the socio-economic life of the community. The various elements of the stūpa in Buddhism that have been detailed above are affirmed by shimmerings preserved in the semantic development of the word across time and space. In fact, Dhānyākāra or 'paddy-heap shaped' is one of the six conventional shapes of Sinhalese stūpas (Parker 1909:336, Bandaranayake 1974:142n, 145, see its frontispiece). A famous caitya in South India was called Śrīdhānyakaṭaka 'heap of grain'. It is mentioned in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa 88.10 (*dakṣiṇā-patha-saṁjñake..: śrī-dhānyakaṭake caitye jina-dhātudhare bhuvi*), and elsewhere *Dhānyakaṭake mahācaitye* (JRAS. 1875: 27). One of the four most important monasteries of Tibet is Depung (written *hbras-spuṅs*) which means *ḥbras 'dhānya'+spuṅs 'kaṭaka*, heap'. It was modelled after the Vajrayāna monastery of South India Śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka.

In Japanese iconography Vaiśravana, the Lokapāla of the north, "has his abode in Alakā abounding in wealth and magnificence" (Getty 1928: 156). He holds a stūpa in his left hand, which is sometimes replaced by a flaming cintāmaṇi (Getty 1928:167). Here cintāmaṇi is a significant substitute for stūpa, as symbolising affluence.

Stupa was a 'tuft of hair' in its earliest Vedic usage. From the tuft of hair it evolved into a hairdo, a jaṭā-mukuṭa, crown/mukuṭa, an uṣṇīṣa, crest, top, supremacy. Compare the five round plaits of hair, lying on top of each other and getting smaller, in the hairdo of the queen in a Prambanan sculpture (Stutterheim 1925:151). Uṣṇīṣa was symbolised as Uṣṇīṣavijayā 'Supreme Victory' and as other uṣṇīṣas; like Vijayoṣṇīṣa, Tejorāśi-uṣṇīṣa, Mahodgat-oṣṇīṣa, etc. (Mallmann 1975:386). In English, crown means "the sovereignty, authority, or dominion of which a crown is the symbol; the rule, position, or empire of a monarch" (OED 2:1209). Stūpa was likewise the symbol of the dominion of Buddhism towering over its landscape and soaring into the sky.

Stūpa has three primary meanings of 'topknot or the lock of hair' (=supremacy); 'stem, tree, pillar, post' (=stability); and 'heaped up, piled up' (form of the monument). Stūpa thus became a symbol of supremacy and stability of an order.

CAITYA

Besides the word stūpa, the other term is caitya, Pali cetiya. Stede (1921:104) translates cetiya as 'a tumulus, sepulchral monument'. Upasak (1961:116) says that a cetiya is "a sepulchral monument. It was probably connected with the funeral pyre (*citā*) and hence a structure over it was called the caitya". Upasak (1961:120) further says: "The cetiyas were primarily commemorative places, in memory of a dead man or Yakkha or deva, sanctuary which sometimes enshrined the relics and hence a place of veneration". Caitya is a derivative of *citi*, and grammatically it is impossible to connect it with *citā*, though the root in both *citā* and *citi* is *ci*. Edgerton (1953:233) is closer to its real meaning. Mahācaitya is one of four, viz. the sites of Buddha's birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and parinirvāṇa, Mūlasarvāstivada-vinaya, Gilgit mss. 2.113.9f. (Edgerton 1953: 422). Caitya, like its Mid-Indic substitutes ceti, cetika, cetiya(also caityaka) seems to be used more broadly than in Sanskrit, as any *object of veneration: lokasya caityam* Śiks. 56.11 (said of any ornament of a stupa); 186.2 (of the monkish robes); *caitya-bhūtā vajracchedikā* 34.12 *of the nature of an object of veneration* (said of any place where 'this sutra' shall be proclaimed)" (Edgerton 1953:233)

The word caitya goes back to Vedic times. *Caityapāla* 'the guardian of a caitya' occurs as early as the Ṛgveda 5.38.29. It occurs in the Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra 3.6, Gṛhya-saṁgraha 2.4 'a sanctuary near a village', *Caityayajña* is 'a sacrificial ceremony performed at a caitya' in the Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra 1.12.

Caitya is an architectural term, and is not related to its functional contexts. The word derives from *citi*, the Vedic fire altars. In contradistinction to stupa which was a thatched construction the caityas were done with baked bricks, like the Vedic citis, which gave them their name. The Vedic *citi* altars were constructed with bricks (*iṣṭakā*) of special measurements, such as bṛhatīs, ardhyās, śūlapādyās, dīrghapādyās, etc. to get different geometrical shapes. The word iṣṭakā, a brick used in building the sacrificial altar (MW.), is significantly derived from the root *yaj* 'to perform a yajna'. Thus the baked bricks/iṣṭakā arose in the context of yajña. *Iṣṭakāciti* is putting bricks in layers and rows (Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 10.1.3.8) and *iṣṭak-aikaśata-vidha* corresponds to 101 bricks (Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 10.2.6.11). Baudhāyana-śulba-sūtra deals with the constructional details of numerous citis such as praüga citis, ubhayataḥ-praüga citis, rathacakra citis, parimaṇḍaladroṇa citis, caturasra-droṇa citis, samūhya citis, paricāyya citis, etc. (Raghu Vira 1981: 305-328). Coomaraswamy (1927 : 47) has alluded to the fact that caityas were erected around fire altras or Vedic *citi*.

the time of Lord Buddha most of the caityas were dedicated to yakṣas
devas. Yakṣas (from the root *yaj*) are adored by kings :
ahad yakṣaṁ bhuvanasya madhye|
smai baliṁ rāṣṭrabhṛto bharanti| | (Atharvaveda 10.8.15).
And this is the centre of the universe where the fosterers of empires
their offerings to the Mighty, the Adored, the Adorable" (Raghu-
1978:353). A caitya was at times known by the name of the yakṣa
whom it was dedicated. Sārandada-cetiya, Ānanda-cetiya, Cāpāla-
a, Gotamaka-cetiya in and near Vesālī, Maṇimālaka-cetiya in
adha, Ajakalāpa-cetiya at Pava are some examples. Pāṣāṇaka-cetiya
built on a great rock. Makuṭa-bandhana-cetiya of Mallas of Kusinara
a hall in which Malla chiefs put on their ornaments on festive days
hanikāya-Aṭṭhakathā 2.596). Buddha preached to his monks a
on at Ānanda-cetiya on the four great authorities (*cattāro mahā-*
ā). At Sārandada-cetiya Buddha delivered his famous sermon to
icchavis regarding the satta aparihāṇīya-dhammā or seven elements
sure their welfare and prosperity (Aṅguttara-nikāya 5.16, Dīgha-
a 2.72). He advised them to worship the cetiyas as one of the seven
nas. The caityas were sacred places of worship, halls or trees,
people could assemble. Lord Buddha naturally visited these holy
res of public congregation and delivered his sermons to the assembled
le. Pali literature has preserved memories of the important cetiyas
d by Lord Buddha at Vesali, Bhoganagara, Aḷavī country, Magadha,
and other towns and cities. Later on these cetiyas were converted
vihāras/monasteries. A vihāra was constructed at Cāpāla-cetiya and
maka-cetiya for the Buddha. The Aggāḷava-cetiya was converted
a vihāra where the Buddha stayed a number of times. A vihāra was
ed at the spot of the Ajakalāpa-cetiya at Pava, during the Buddha's
The Pāsāṇaka-cetiya near Rājagṛha was converted into a vihāra
he Buddha. The Sattambaka-cetiya at Vesāli was converted into a
a for the Buddha after his visit. The pre-Buddhist caityas were
formed into Buddhist monasteries, and were re-vitalised as centres
e new faith. Their age-old sanctity augmented the appeal of the
ing faith. There are similar instances in the religious history of
e. The great oak of Jupiter at Geismar in Hesse, which was highly
ted by the people, was destroyed by Bonifacius, of its wood was
chapel to St. Peter (EB. 22.449b).

e have already cited a Pali passage which says that there were three
of cetiyas: paribhotta-cetiya, dhamma-cetiya, and dhātu-cetiya,
the cetiyas, which were earlier dedicated to yakṣas and devas, had
re-sanctified by articles used by the Buddha; or by any religious
like a Buddhist scripture or formula, image or just by the memory
visit of the Buddha; and after his nirvāṇa by his relics or the bodily
ins of his apostles or other Buddhist masters. Just as the images

The Pali lexicon Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā gives four meanings of the word cetiya: 1. stūpa, 2. āyatana, 3. devālaya, 4. caitya-druma. Āyatana is a construction encircling a caitya. Pañcāyatana is a temple complex with one in the centre and four temples on the sides. The Pali text of Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā runs:

Thūpo tu cetiyam bhave/ (p. 76)
Cetiyāyatanāni ca/ (p. 36)
Devālaye ca thūpasmiṁ cetiyaṁ cetiya-ddume/ (p. 153)

Tibetan translates both stupa and caitya as *mchod-rten* (Mahāvyutpatti 6999, 7000). In Tibetan every Sanskrit word has a separate Tibetan equivalent if the sense warrants it. The finalisation of Tibetan terminology was completed in the Mahāvyutpatti. If stupa and caitya are rendered herein by the same Tibetan word it means that in the ninth century the two Sanskrit words were not distinguished. The two words represented different construction techniques and served separate functions, but they converged in Buddhist connotation. Earlier there was a basic difference in their mode of construction. We can discern this in their etymology. Caitya is cognate to the Vedic word *citi* which was constructed with bricks. Caityas to yakṣas were constructed with bricks around tree-trunks. Stūpa has cognates in Greek and Latin which means stump, the Pali expression *thūpikata* means 'heaped up' and the Hindi verb *thopnā* and allied verbs in NIA languages are derived from *stopyate*. Stupas were raised with stumps or wooden shafts around which mud was heaped.

Caityas also meant sacred trees. *Caitya-taru* is a tree standing on a sacred spot (Var. Br. 5). *Caitya-dru, caitya-druma, caitya-vṛkṣa* as a religious fig tree is well known in Sanskrit literature. In Mahābhārata *caitya-sthāna* is a place made sacred by a monument sanctuary (MW). In Rāmāyaṇa 5.15 *caitya-prāsāda* is a shrine built on a caitya. When Bhīṣma took charge of the government, the country was full of caityas and yupas (*caitya-yūpa-śatāṅkitaḥ*, Mahābhārata 1.109.13, Upasak 1961:166).

Worship of caitya-vṛkṣa/caitya trees was popular since very ancient times. Images were placed under the tree. To this day, folk images are placed under a tree for worship in the Himalayan areas. Shah (1987 :26) gives references to caitya trees in the Jain tradition. In course of time, with economic affluence, shrines were constructed over them (which are termed caitya-stūpa by Shah 1987:14). Irwin (1980 : 36-38) illustrates tree-temples (bodhi-ghara) as depicted in three places: on a relief medallion, Mathura, about first century A.D. (fig. 5), in a relief panel from Jaggayapeta, about first century A.D. (fig. 6), on a railing medallion, Mathura, second-first century B.C. (fig. 7). These are caityas proper constructed with burnt bricks over the bodhi tree.

DHĀTUGARBHA

The Chinese Buddhist tradition makes a canonical distinction between a *t' a* housing sacred relics and a *che-t'i*/caitya which housed images and other sacred objects or marked sites of religious significance (Dudbridge 1978:100). The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya (T 1425, Ṅj 1119, K 889) translated by Buddhabhadra and Fa-hsien in A.D. 416 says that "if religious edifices contain a relic (*shê-li*) they are designated *t'a* , and if they do not contain a relic they are caityas (*che-t'i*) . Likewise the place where Buddha is born, the place where he has attained bodhi, the place where he has turned the dharmacakra, the place where he has entered nirvāṇa, the portraits of pratyeka-buddhas, the place which bears the imprint of the foot of the Buddha are caityas" (T 1425:22.498b, Ligeti 1978:267). The ideogram *t'a* in Giles (1892: 10525) signifies mainly a pagoda. It is the transcription of Sanskrit *dhā* of dhātugarbha. "But in Chinese usage the distinction faded, and the word *t'a* could cover all these and other functions, including the memorial stelae of deceased monks" (Mochizuki 4.3835b and 3837c, Dudbridge 1978: 100).

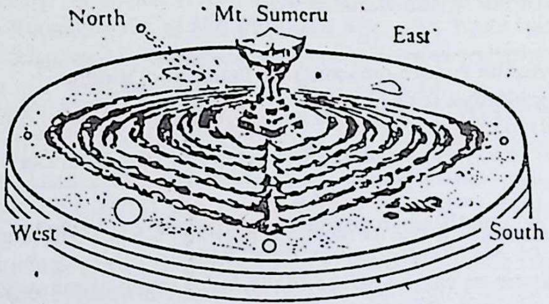
The word dhātugarbha occurs in Divyāvadāna 369.1: *mad-dhātu-garbha-parimaṇḍita-jambukhaṇḍam*. It is translated by Edgerton 284 as: 'relic-shrine'. The Pali form dhātugabbha is not recorded in Stede. Childers (1875 : 122) translates: "a relic-receptacle or shrine, the inner room of a thūpa, in which the sacred relic was deposited, Mahāvaṁsa (ed. George Turnour 1837:179, 211). In modern Simhalese the word *Dāgaba* applies to the whole Thūpa".

The interpretation that stupa and caitya are religious and not funerary monuments while dhātugarbha is a reliquary, compels us to reconsider the 'Ancient' pronunciation of the character given by Karlgren (1923: 276 no. 955) as *tāp* (Cantonese *t'āpp*, Japanese *to* (*tapu*), transcription of the Prakrit form of Sanskrit. The Prakrit form is *thūpa* with the initial vowel *ū*. The omission of *ū* in the Chinese transcription cannot be explained. From Buddhabhadra's meaning given above 塔 seems to transcribe dhātugarbha and the Ancient pronunciation should be *tāt*.

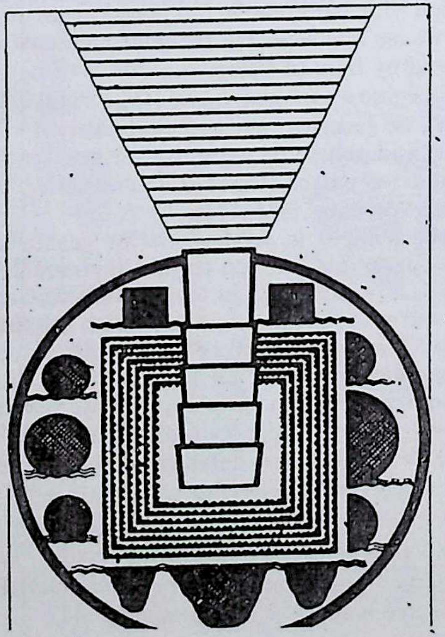
STŪPA AND MAṆḌALA ON SUMERU

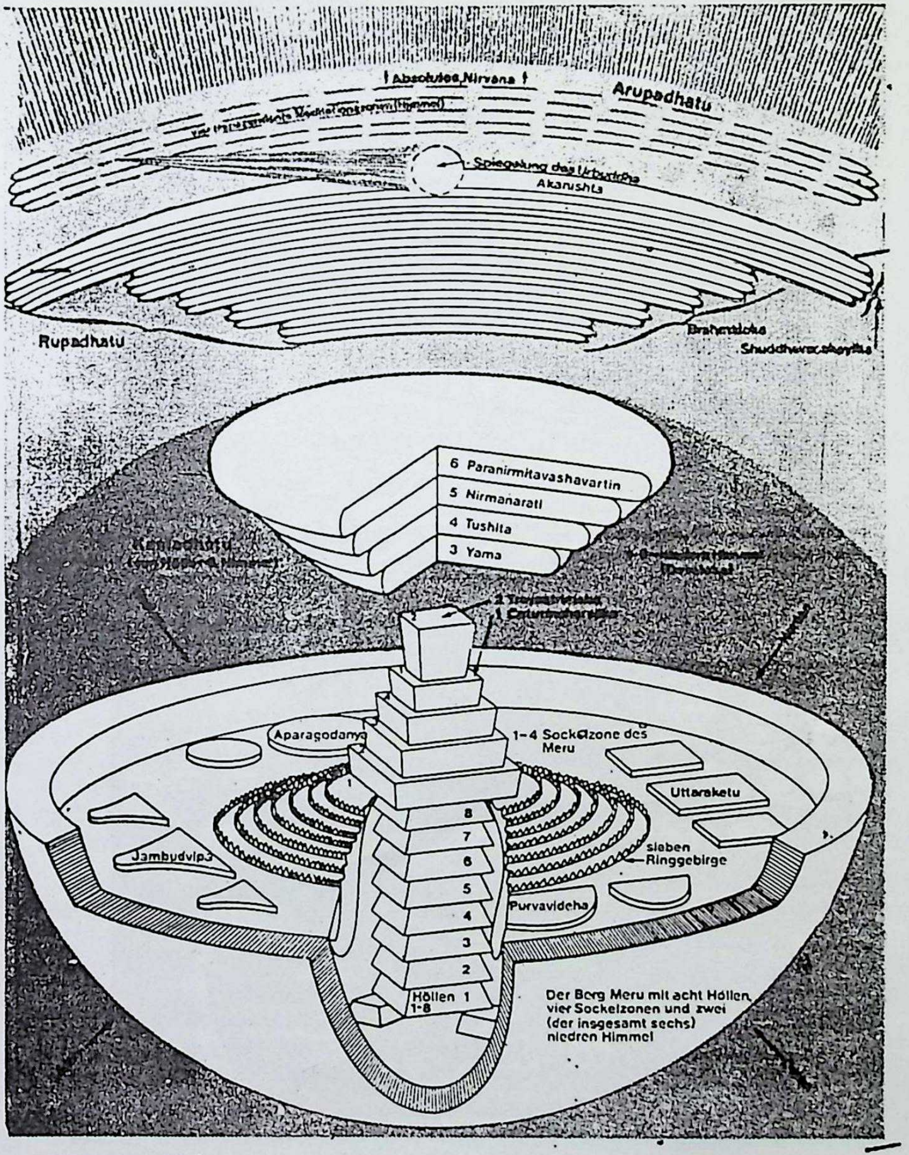
Fussman (1986 : 46) has discussed the interrelation of stūpa and maṇḍala. This compels us to bring clarity about the correlation of stūpa with a maṇḍala on the Sumeru.

First the configuration of the Sumeru. The Sino-Japanese tradition describes it as follows: "Mount Sumeru, a magnificent mountain of gold and gems shaped like a cup or the seed vessel of the lotus, was believed to form the center of the world, where all the planets revolved around it. On each face of this mountain a regent of the four quarters resided, and at the summit was the heaven of Brahmā, and meeting place of the gods. The view of Mount Sumeru was something similar to the following representation:" (Matsunaga 1969:38-39)

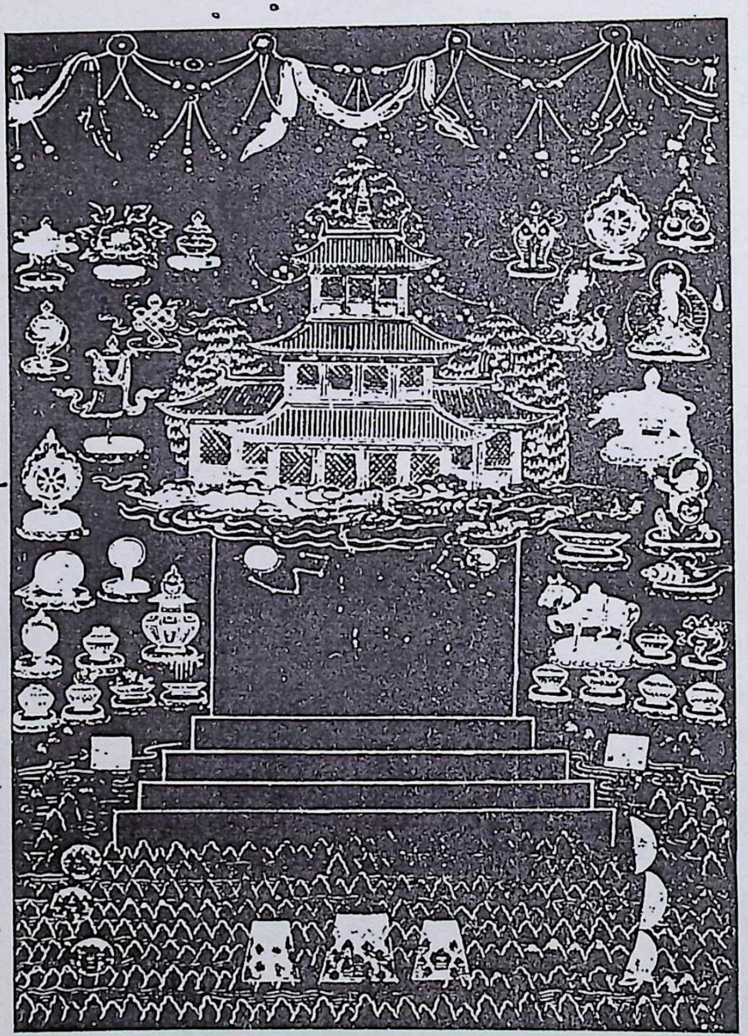

North
Mt. Sumeru
East
West
South

The Lamaist configuration of Sumeru can be seen in the following sketches (Keilhauer 1980: 84-85).




Absolutes Nirvana
Arupadhatu
Spiegelung des Urbuddha
Akanishta
Rupadhatu
Brahmaloka
Shuddhavasakayika
6 Paranirmitavashavartin
5 Nirmanarati
4 Tushita
3 Yama
Kamadhatu
2 Trayastrimsha
1 Caturmaharajika
Aparagodanya
1-4 Sockelzone des Meru
Uttarakuru
Jambudvipa
sieben Ringgebirge
Purvavideha
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
Höllen 1
1-8
Der Berg Meru mit acht Höllen, vier Sockelzonen und zwei (der insgesamt sechs) niedren Himmel

Wayman (1973 : 104) has reproduced a Tibetan thaṅka scroll of Mount Sumeru:



The aforesaid thaṅka scroll of Sumeru corresponds to the description of Mkhas-grub-rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968: 175). The four-sided Sumeru arises in the middle of an ocean of milk. The four continents with their subcontinents surrounding the Sumeru are:

East	Pūrva-videha (white crescent)	Deha and Videha
West	Apara-godānīya (red circle)	Śāṭhā and Uttara-mantriṇa
South	Jambudvīpa (blue square)	Cāmara and Apara-cāmara
North	Uttara-kuru (yellow triangle)	Kurava and Kaurava

Atop the Sumeru is the three-storeyed eaved palace or kūṭāgāra. The detailed statement of Mkhas-grub-rje is cited below in full:

"...he must imagine an earth surface (*bhūmitala*) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, *Oṁ cala vīra huṁ svāhā*.

"Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus (*padma*) and the blue lotus (*utpala*), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula *Oṁ vimalā dhahā hūṁ*.

"In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (*indranīla*), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many yojanas a lotus trunk which takes its origin from a shaft in the center of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, anthers of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver......

'Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (*vitāna*) [appearing] in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'." (Lessing/Wayman 1968 :175).

The evocation of the Sumeru is *ādhārotpatti* or generation of the residence for the *ādheya* or deities invoked to take their residence in the three-storeyed eaved palace which rests in clouds atop Sumeru.

The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī of Abhayākara-gupta, which is a fundamental text for the construction of maṇḍalas, makes it clear that maṇḍalas were situated in a kūṭāgāra or pavilion atop the Sumeru mountain, with the main deity in the centre and others in their appropriate placements.

The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī describes the Vajradhātu maṇḍala at length: the characteristics of all its 37 deities are detailed. According to it, within a vajra enclosure rises Sumeru towering over the continents, sub-continents and seven seas. Atop Sumeru is a pavilion (kūṭāgāra) in whose centre sits the main dity Vairocana. The Sanskrit text reads: *Vajradhātu-maṇḍale vajra-pañjar-odare dvīp-opadvīpa-sapta-samudr-ādi-parikalita-sumer-ūpari kūṭāgārāṁ/tasya madhye... Vairocanaḥ* (p. 44).

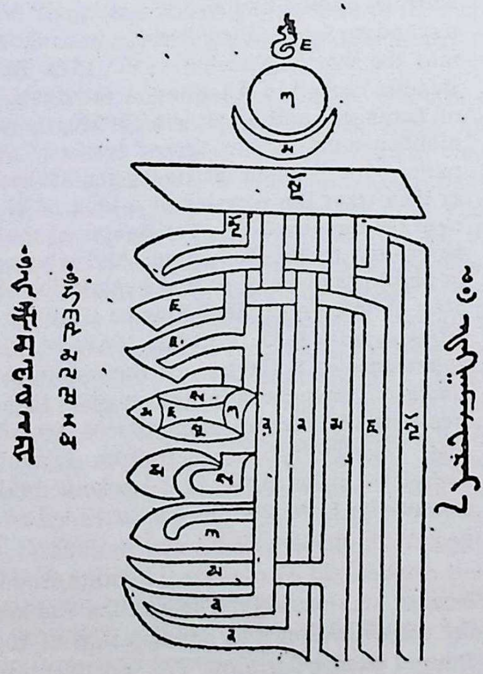
Sumeru mountain is the abode of gods, and as such, the Deities with their retinue, reside in the kūṭāgāra atop this mountain. The maṇḍalas in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī are thus placed on the Sumeru within a kūṭāgāra, e.g. in maṇḍala nos. 3, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23.

There is a tiny structure on the top of the kūṭāgāra. To cite Wayman (1973: 108-109): "Let us now treat the three-storied palace which rests on the cloud atop Mt. Meru

"Speaking about the eaved palace on the summit of Mt. Meru, Lessing states that it is Indra's palace called Sudarśana. This continues the association with the name "Indra" since the golden spot of earth from which the evocation began is called "belonging to Great Indra". The tiny structure on the top of the palace roof is more difficult. It may very well be a stylized part of a stūpa. It will be recalled that Mkhas grub rje's mentions two kinds of stūpas that can be generated in the palace. Like the standard stūpa, this structure—as the photograph is seen with a microscope—also has on its very top the crescent moon surmounted by the sun, in turn surmounted by a hook-like curve that should represent fire."

Stūpa is a tuft of hair at the top. Hence its presence atop the kūṭāgāra on Sumeru is natural. Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan has the expression *stūpa prāsāda* (ed. Kats 1910: 53) which is a construction topped by a stūpa. *Prāsāda* means a shrine (Shah 1987: 15). The long tapering finales of Thai monasteries rising into the skies are a stylistic development of the stūpa-prāsāda architecture. Stūpa is also *turret* or *pinnacle* of a building, in *prākāra-parikhā-dvāra-stūp-ābhinigūḍhāḥ* Avadāna-śataka 2.115.8, see Speyer's note. Stūpikā is a 'small turret or pinnacle' on a house in Mahāvastu 2.36.11 (vs.) (Edgerton 1953: 608).

The crescent moon, sun and hook-like curve are the *candra*, *bindu* and *nāda* of *om*. They can be seen in the Ten-syllabled monogram — HKṢMLVRYAM:



Mount Sumeru, with a kūṭāgara on top in which deities of a maṇḍala reside, has to be clearly distinguished from a stūpa/caitya. A maṇḍala is a two-dimensional diagram of the *temenos* of a particular Deity with his/her acolytes and retinue. The maṇḍala corresponds to the modern construction plan of a building. It has four gates, and three or more enclosures, with the main Deity in the innermost enclosure. Prof. Tucci (1949:1.318-20) has pointed out that the maṇḍala is a horizontal plan of a building, with the doors of the pradakṣiṇā and its centre. The maṇḍala corresponds to the scheme of the palace or city of the Cakravartin the universal monarch. Bue (1987: 789) says that the maṇḍala is "a highly ornate palace with one or two inner courtyards, four gates opening on each side of the courtyards"

The terms stūpa, caitya, dhātugarbha have been used indiscriminately and that has led to confusion. The Sumeru, that the Barabudur is, has been messed up with stūpa, which has introduced further complexities both in the interpretation of this monument as well as of stūpa in general. The situation gets more entangled due to the convergence of form and function of the royal stūpa, the religious caitya, the sanctifying reliquary dhātugarbha, and the cosmological Sumeru. In these syncretic monuments, several stages of development and manifold functions have converged. Linguistic, literary and archaeological evidence challenges the widely held view that these are sepulchral monuments. In its earliest form and function the stupa represented a stabilisation of the socio-economic life of the community. Then it was the monument of a cakravartin king. In Buddhism it became the symbol of the diffusion of dharma, the visual landmark of the ever-expanding Buddha-realm. The 84,000 stūpas/cetiyas of Aśoka, are termed dharmarājika in the Divyāvadāṇa. Dharmarājika means those that pertain to the Dharma-King. It also represents the eternalisation of Dharma. Space and time, *dik* and *kāla*, both are symbolised in a stūpa/caitya.

STUPA, STATE AND BUDDHA THE DHARMACAKRAVARTIN

Stūpa was a royal monument. It was the assertion of the place being an integral part of the dominion of a cakravartin. The links between stūpa-worship and the kingship cult are confirmed in the Mahāparinibbāna suttanta and other texts (Irwin 1980: 24). H.L. Shorto (1972: 78) identifies stūpa as a royal being on one hand and as a cosmic axis on the other. Likewise Tucci (1957: 118-123) has shown that the king participating in the construction of a royal stūpa unites himself with the axis of the monument which is conceived of as the metaphysical centre around which his kingdom revolves (Irwin 1980: 24). According to Fussman (1986: 48): "a stūpa is an embodiment of many symbolic conceptions, but the cakravartin symbolism appears to be the main one".

confirmed in the Mahāparinibbāna suttanta and other parts of the Buddhist canon, we should note the frequent recurrence of nail- or peg-imagery in rites of royal consecration in many different parts of the world, especially in descriptions of the king being firmly fixed on his throne.... In Atharvaveda 6.87 the king is said to owe his fixity to Indra who is not merely identified with the cosmic axis but said to be synonymous with it. Indra is skambha and skambha is Indra, according to Atharvaveda 10.7.29-30" (Irwin 1980: 24).

The stupa symbolised two major concerns of the State, namely, (i) legitimation through sanctification and (ii) stability. The visible signs of legitimation/sanctification were the insertion of a tuft of royal hair, representing supreme power. In Vedic literature, the word stūpa has the meaning tuft of hair, top, crown, crest. It implies the idea of supremacy, crowning achievement. We can compare the word *uṣṇīṣa*. Uṣṇīṣavijayā is the goddess of Supreme Victory. It is noteworthy that the earliest stūpa was built on the hair of Buddha given to Trapuṣa-Bhallika. A modern Burmese work Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṁsa gives the history of six hair-relic shrines (Norman 1983: 143). Stūpas were built in the shape of towers, surmounted by chattras/umbrellas. Chinese stūpas have seven to thirteen chattras (Jolly 1920:901, 902). The umbrellas were symbols of royal power.

Stability was expressed by a stump or wooden shaft as the axial pillar in the centre of the monument. The cognate Greek word *stupos* means 'stem, stump, block'. Irwin (1979: 38) emphasizes that the primary component of the early stūpa had been an axial pillar of wood. So does Mus: 'Henceforth, the central part played by the axial pillar in the structure of the stūpa is confirmed. It is not just that it marks the centre, and that it rises up and dominates the stūpa in the form of a staff bearing parasols: the entire masonry surrounds and encloses it, is explained by it, and constitutes no more than ——in a single word—its envelope. From the above, it is clear that the stupa is to be understood above all in terms of its axis".

The wooden shaft in the centre of the stūpa is proved by the records of excavations of stupa-mounds from the earliest date to the present day. The first recorded excavation took place at Vaisali (Bihar) around 1800, where 'a well of great depth' was found. The next recorded stūpa excavation done by Charles Masson in Afghanistan in the 1830's revealed the "peculiarity of construction observable in the existence of a shaft of chamber at the summit". Masson brought to light the reliquary "carved in the form of a stūpa of the kind he was disembowelling. Running through its axis is a colossal pillar bearing parasols" (Irwin 1979: 808). Irwin cites a long sequence of evidence of the discovery of circular shafts running down the centre of the dome of the Bhattiprolu stūpa in Andhra Pradesh excavated in 1871; a 'circular pipe' at the centre of the stūpa mound at Piprahwa in the Nepal Tarai filled with clay and encircled with brick-work; the shaft in the Ghaṇṭāśālā stūpa in Andhra Pradesh; a hollow shaft-hole in the centre of the mound at Gotihawa on the Indo-Nepal border; axial-pillar remains in the stūpa mound at Lauriya-Nandangarh excavated by Block in 1904-5 which he proved "beyond doubt that the hollow shaft-holes in the centres of so many ancient stūpa-mounds had originally been occupied by wooden pillars, because in one case the stump of the original pillar had actually survived." (Irwin 1979).

Buddha as the cakravartin. Some of the important episodes in the life of Buddha depict him as a cakravartin. Buddha was born with thirty-two mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas. Among these 32 special signs is *cakrāṅkita-hasta-pādaḥ*, an indication of his being a cakravartin (Mahāvyutpatti 22).

Buddha attained Enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. He sat there in silence for seven days. Answering the querry of Samantakusuma devaputra, Buddha replies: "Just as a consecrated king by jñāti-saṅgha must not leave that place for a week likewise the Enlightened Buddha should not leave paryaṅka (*abhiṣikta-daśabala-praṇidhi-pūrṇṇāḥ jinā na bhindanti paryaṅkam,* Lalitavistara 371).

Wheel was the first of the Seven Jewels of a Universal Monarch or Cakravartin "the one who sets the wheel in motion". It also must not be forgotten that the bodhisattva might have become the sovereign of the universe had he not preferred to conquer a spiritual empire. The wheel as symbol for the universe would serve just as well as symbol for the spiritual empire and so the 'setting of Wheel of Law in motion' became a synonym for the First Sermon in so far as it brought a new moral order into the world (Foucher 1953: 151). Before entering mahāparinirvāṇa Buddha replied to Ānanda: 'A tathāgata, pratyekabuddha, a true hearer of Tathāgata and a cakravartin king is worthy of a thūpa' (Mahāparinibbāna-sutta 5.27 in *Sacred Books of the East* 21.93). After Buddha's parinirvāṇa Ānanda instructed the Mallas of Kusinara as follows: "And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vaseṭṭhas should they treat the remains of the Tathāgata. At the four crossroads a stūpa should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be there for a profit and a joy (Mahāparinibbāna-sutta 6.33, Foucher 1963: 241), SBE 21.125, 126). "With the appearance of a Cakkavatti there appear seven treasures in the world; similarly, with the appearance of a Tathāgata there appear the seven treasures of wisdom—mindfulness, searching of the Dhamma, energy, zest, tranquillity, concentration, equanimity" (Cakkavatti-sutta of Saṁyutta-nikāya 5.99, Malalasekera 1937: 1.833). As the supreme cakravartin Lord Buddha was attended on by the Lords of both Heaven and Earth, namely, Indra and Brahmā.

As the Cakravartin Lord Buddha used the stūpa as a symbolic monument of his new order. The stability and legitimation of the State became the eternalisation and consecration of the Dharma. The central shaft ensured lasting duration. The sanctification of the entire monument was effected by inserting dhātu which could be physical elements or psychic constituents. They could also be bodily relics of the Buddha and his disciples. Their function was consecration. Bareau (1975 : 159-165) discusses the features which distinguish a stūpa from a śmaśāna. The word *dhātu* means *dhīyate sarvaṁ nikṣipyate...dadhāti śabdāt* (Vācaspatya p. p. 3869). Dhātu has wider connotation than relics or remains of a body. Moreover, relics are known as dhātu because they are deposed or enshrined in a stūpa for its sanctification. A dhātu may be a bowl or robe of Lord Buddha, his hair and nail-cuttings in life or his remains after nirvāṇa, a Buddhist sūtra or dhāraṇī, an image or... Even Lord Buddha's footprints were considered dhātus as cetiyas were built over them: one in India, one in Yonaka-raṭṭha and one in Srilanka. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka goes a step further and declares that wherever a sacred scripture/dharmaparyāya is recited that place is worthy of a stūpa. It was the Bauddhisation of the place. Eternal dharma finds concrete expression in a stūpa.

STUPAS ERECTED DURING THE LIFE-TIME OF THE BUDDHA

According to the Aṅguttara commentary (1.207f.) Buddha gave for worship to Trapuṣa and Bhallika, eight handfuls of his hair which he obtained by stroking his head. They took the hair with them to their city of Asitañjana and built a cetiya from which rays of blue light issued on fast days (Malalasekera 1937:1.991).

Hsüan-tsang mentions two stūpas built by these first lay-disciples of Buddha, one at Ti-wei, a town 50 li north west of capital Balkh and another at Po-li, which was 40 li to the north of Ti-wei. In each of these towns the stūpa is about three chang (about 30 ft.) in height. The account runs as follows in the translation of Beal (1884:47-48): "In old days when Buddha first attained enlightenment after gazing with delight on the Bodhi tree, he went to the garden of the deer, at this time two householders meeting him and beholding the brilliant appearance of his person, offered him from their store of provisions for their journey some cakes and honey. The Lord of the world, for their sake preached concerning the happiness of men and Devas and delivered to them, his very first disciples, the five rules of moral conduct and then ten good qualities. When they had heard the sermon, they humbly asked for some object to worship. On this Tathāgata delivered to them some of his hairs and nailcuttings. Taking these, the merchants were about to return to their own country when they asked of Buddha the right way of venerating these relics. Tathāgata forthwith spreading out his saṅghāṭī on the ground as a square napkin, next laid down his uttarāsaṅga and then his saṅkakṣikā; again over these he placed as a cover his begging-pot, on which he erected his mendicant's staff. Thus he placed them in order, making thereby (the figure of) a stūpa. The two men taking the order each went to his own town, and then to build a monument and thus was the very first stūpa of the Buddhist religion erected".

STUPAS AS LANDMARKS OF THE EXPANDING BUDDHA-REALM

Emperor Aśoka filled his extensive domains with stūpas in order to sanctify the wide earth to the highest degree (Aśokāvadāna 79):

stūpair vicitrair giri-śṛṅga-kalpaiś
chatra-dhvajaiś cocchṛta-ratna-citraiḥ|
saṁśobhitā me pṛthivī samantād
vaistārikā dhātudharāḥ kṛtāś ca||

For a gift of dust Asoka won such a vast empire. In gratitude, he spread the dharma far and wide: *sthaviro 'yaṁ me manoratho ye bhagavatā Buddhena pradeśā adhyuṣitās tan arceyam| cihnani ca kuryām paścimasyam janatayam anugrahartham|* (Aśokāvadāna 81).

Profound faith, reverence and gratitude found their expression in the affirmation of dharma by adorning Jambudvīpa with hundreds of caityas (Aśokāvadāna 92):

lokaṁ caitya-śatair alaṁkṛtam idaṁ śvetābhra-kūṭa-prabhaiḥ|
asy-ādy-apratimasya śāsanakṛte kiṁ no kṛtaṁ duṣkaram||

Aṣoka ordered yakṣas to construct a stupa each in the small, medium and large cities throughout Jambudvīpa: *āsamudrāyāṁ pṛthivyāṁ hīn-otkṛṣta-madhyameṣu nagareṣu yatra koṭiḥ paripūryate tatra dharmarājikā pratiṣṭhāpitavyā* (Aśokāvadāna 53-54). Why were yakṣas instrumental in the construction of stūpas? Is it a reference to the conversion of yakṣa sancta into stūpas?

The day 84,000 stūpas were completed Emperor Aśoka was blessed with a son. The overjoyed Emperor exclaimed: "may my son flourish the dharma" (*dharmeṇa rājyaṁ mama kurvato hi jātaḥ suto dharmavivardhano'stu,* Aśokāvadāna 105).

Divyāvadāna 381.18 says that Aśoka constructed 84,000 stūpas: *caturaśīti-dharmarājikā-sahasraṁ pratiṣṭhāpitam,* in verse: *cakre stupanam ...sāśīti...sahasram* (381.21). The word dharmarājikā means stupa as is clear from the metrical repetition of what has been narrated in prose earlier. King Aśoka established 84,000 monasteries adorned with 84,000 cetiyas: *sakala-Jambudīpe caturāsītiyā nangara-sahassesu caturāsīti vihāra-sahassāni kārāpesi caturāsīti-sahassa-cetiya-patimaṇḍitāni* (Samantapāsādikā 1.48). The Aśokāvadāna translated into Chinese around A.D. 300 mentions the 84,000 stūpas of Aśoka (Przyluski 1923:222). "Tradition has it that for the founding of this kind of stūpas the great emperor Aśoka had set an example by ordering 84,000 stūpas to be made, each containing one of the 84,000 prises in principal 84,000 sections (Macdonald 1984:136).

During the Five Dynasties the kingdom of Wu-Yüeh earned the title of *Fo-kuo* 'Buddha-kṣetra'=the Land of Buddhism, the Realm of Buddhism. Prince Ch'ien Shu (929-988) who reigned from 949-978 had a set of small 84,000 bronze stupas cast and guilded in 955 like those built by Emperor Aśoka. Eightyfour thousand copies of the Sarva-tathāgat-ādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya-guyha-dhātu - karaṇḍamudrā - dhāraṇī were printed in 945 for Prince Ch'ien Shu. They were embellished with frontispieces showing people worshipping a stupa. These small scrolls (full length 222 cm and height 7.1 cm) were printed to be enshrined in the bronze stūpas, which were 20 cm high. On four sides a relief panel depicted the story of Aśoka. Inscription on the stūpas reads: "Ch'ien Huang Shu, Prince of Wu-Yüeh made 84,000 precious stūpas, dated Yi-mao (955) year".

In 963 Prince Ch'ien Shu had to pay heavy tribute to the Chou Emperor. The Prince cast another set of iron stūpas in 965 to stabilize his kingdom. In China iron symbolises strength and stability.

The Prince printed once again 84,000 scrolls of the same dhāraṇī in 975. Its colophon explicitly says that the 84,000 scrolls are to be given as an offering for the Brick Pagoda of Hsi-Kuan, later known as Lei-feng-t'a or Thunder Hill Pagoda at Hang-chao. The Pagoda was so planned that it consisted of 84,000 bricks made to specific measurements. Every brick had a hole in which a dhāraṇī was inserted for sanctification.

The 84,000 bricks of this stūpa recall the thousand bricks used in each of the five-tipped, six-tipped and square bird altars (citi) of Vedic ritual (Staal 1982:59-61). *Sahasra* 'thousand', from *sahas* 'power', was the powerful number of ritual.

This Pagoda collapesd after 950 years on 25 September 1924 (Edgren 1972:141-146, Loehr 1968:8,9) which led to the discovery of the dhāraṇīs. The Ch'ien family was renowned for the construction of Buddhist stūpas, and several hundred monasteries throughout its realm to make it a Fo-~~kuo~~ or Buddha-kṣetra (Schafer 1976:213).

Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi of Hsüan-tsang indicates the prevalence in India of a similar practice of secreting tiny handwritten sūtras in stupas about five or six ts'un high (Edgren 1972:143).

It is significant that the Sarvatathāgat-ādhiṣṭhana-hṛdaya-guhya-dhātu-karaṇḍa-mudrā-dhāraṇī was printed by Prince Ch'ien twice. It was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (705-774) who went to China about 720 where he became a disciple of Vajrabodhi. The epithets *bhuvi bhuvanadhare, jayadhara,* and *supratisṭhita-stūpe* are indications that this dhāraṇī was also intended for the state. This dhāraṇī has been found near Abhayagiri in Srilanka, written on granite slabs. Abhayagiri was a famous vajrayāna centre. Amoghavajra went to Srilanka in search of sūtras. An interesting story occurs in the Tibetan translation of the dhāraṇī (Peking Kanjur 508:112.2.2-114.4.7). Buddha accompanied by the brāhmaṇa Vimalaprabha came upon a large old stūpa. The old stūpa began to glow brightly all around and multicoloured rays of glowing light shot forth. Buddha presented it with his own garment. Vimalaprabha asked the reason. Buddha explained that there is a special text Sarva-tathāgat-ādhiṣṭhāna-sutra. Wherever this text is, there are hundreds of millions of Tathāgatas, unspeakably many dhātus of Tathāgatas, the 84,000 pieces of Dharma, etc. One who hears even the name of the text, copies it, worships it results in merit equal to that of ninety-nine hundreds of millions of Tathāgatas....If someone made a copy of it and put it into a stūpa that stūpa would become a stupa of the relics of the essence of vajra of all Tathāgatas and it would become a stupa of ninety-nine millions of Tathāgatas (Schopen 1982:104).

Another interesting example is of the Raśmi-vimala-viśuddha-prabhā-dhāraṇī which was enshrined in a stupa as early as 751 in Southeast Korea. Shōtoku had a million copies of the same text printed in A.D. 770, and had them deposed in a million miniature stūpas which were then distributed all over Japan (Schopen 1982:106). To extend its provincial control, the Japanese Ritsuryo Government decided to imitate the Chinese Ta-yün system of a national network of temples. Emperor Shomu decreed in 741 that each province in Japan was to build a seven-storied pagoda and enshrine Buddhist texts therein. The Emperor initiated this Kokubunji system as a means of reuniting a nation that had become exceedingly restless. Buddhism became the religion of the nation (Matsunga 1974:121-123).

The Cuttack Museum Stone Inscription speaks of the insertion of dhāraṇīs to sanctify caityas: *yaḥ kaścid bhikṣur vā bhikṣuṇī vā upāsako vā...imāṁ dhāraṇīṁ likhitvā 'bhyantaram prakṣipya caityaṁ kariṣyati tenaikena caityena kṛtena lakṣaṁ tathāgata-caityānāṁ kṛtam bhavati.*

Dhāraṇīs played a prime role in the sanctification of stūpas for the stability of the state. We can cite examples from Chinese history where Buddhist tantras were translated for the security and stability of the state against the attacks of Tibetans and Arabs. This is explicitly stated in the Vaisravaṇa-kalpa, translated by Amoghavajra (T 1249). Reverses on the battlefield were followed by renewed vigour in translating new tantras (Lokesh Chandra 1981:43). Amoghavajra was the Imperial Preceptor whose translations and subsequent invocations of deities for the extermination of enemies, gave a new impetus to Buddhism in China. A sovereign state and sanctifying stūpas and scriptures became a shared interdependence. Wherever Dharma journeyed it left its imprint in the form of stūpas/caityas. To worship them was to visualize Dharma. The place on which a stūpa stood became a dharmakṣetra. It lent splendour to space, and space sanctified it for continuing time. The stūpa was an assertion of the consecration of space into the Buddhist *Kulturkreis*.

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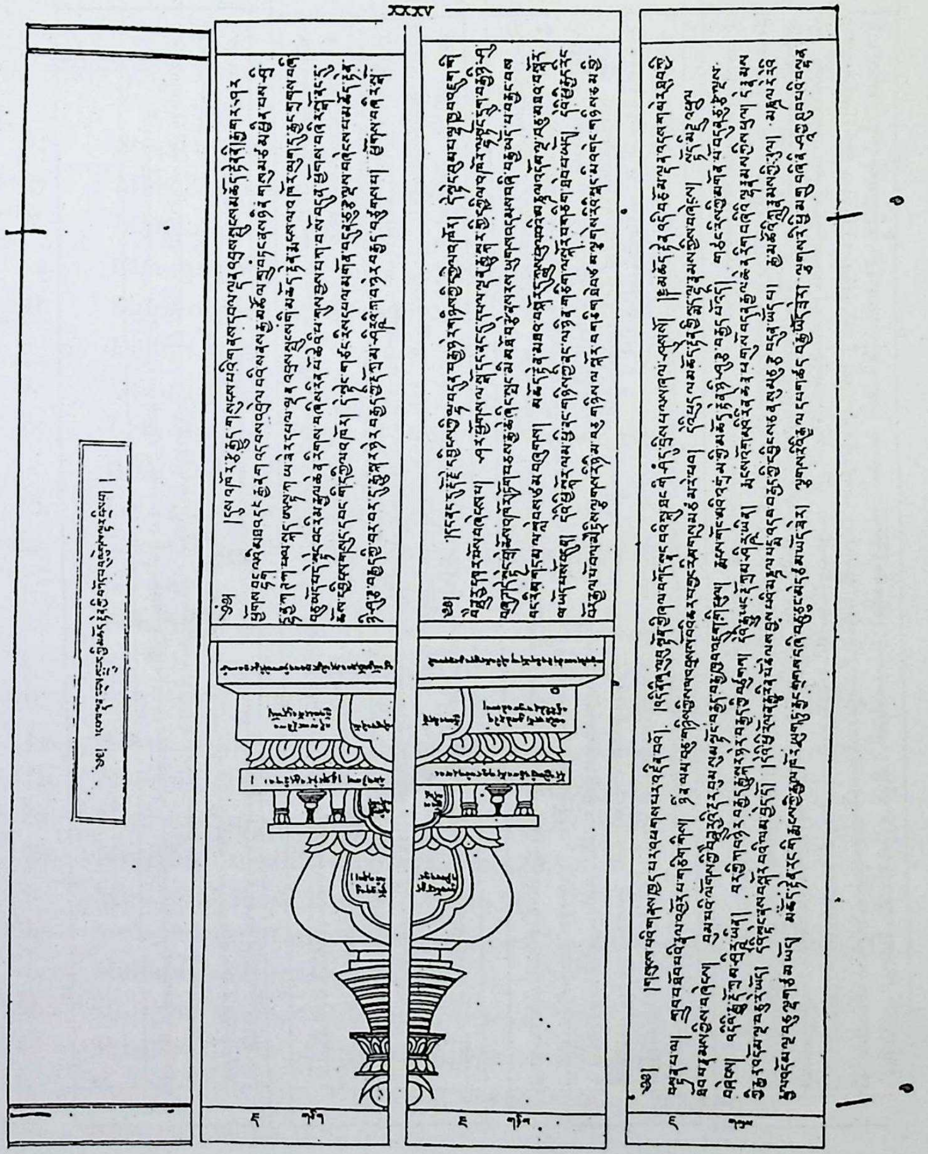

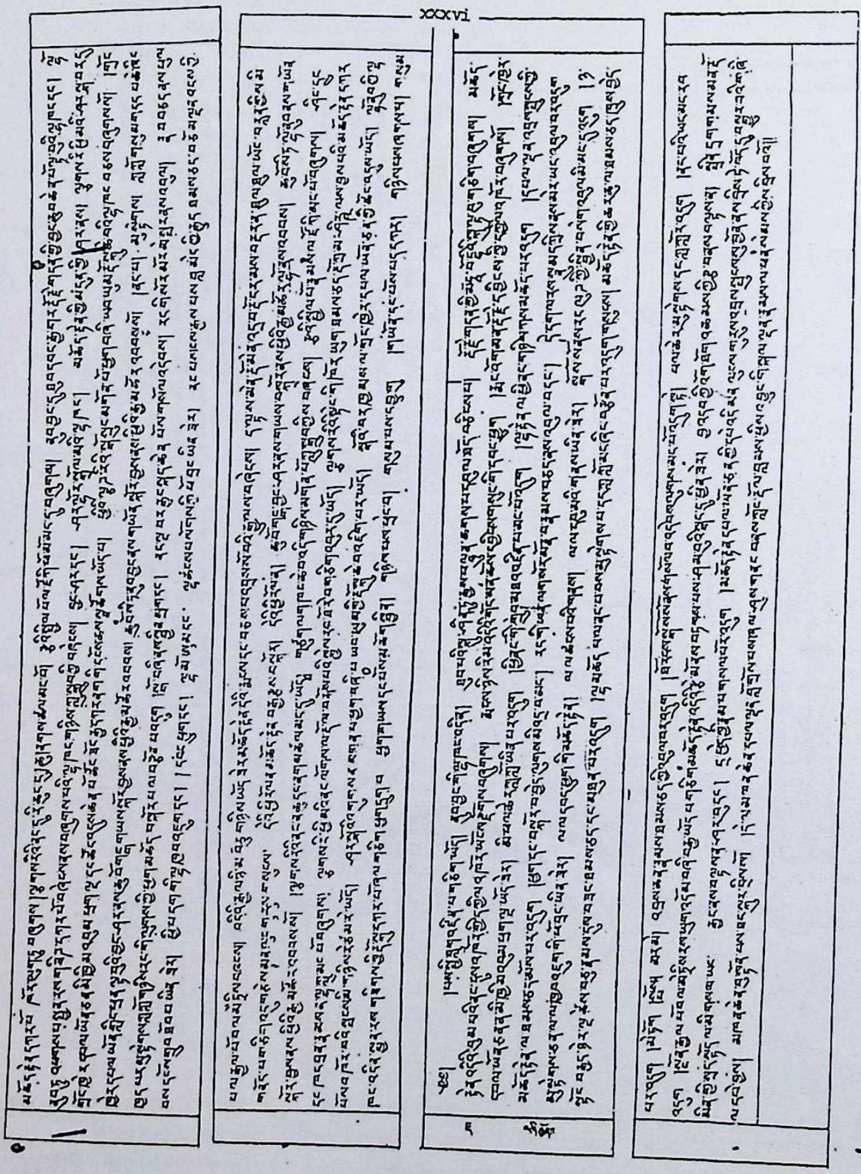

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PREFACE

The present volume begins a series of studies which will be dedicated to the publication, investigation and elaboration of a vast archaeological, scriptural and literary material, collected during my long permanence in India and during my Tibetan expeditions. To this will be added the contribution of direct experiences which often are valuable in order to understand the meaning of a ritual, the ideal motif of an art work, the inner sense of a doctrine, in a much deeper way than that suggested by the simple sequence of texts.

The title of this series indicates the fields of study which I intend, if not uniquely certainly especially, to turn my attention on: India and Tibet. For both of them, there is not only the question of geographical proximity, but rather of strict connection and cultural dependence. Except for minor Chinese influences and for rather large demonologic survivals preceding the penetration of Buddhism, the Tibetan civilization and its creations may very well be considered as inspired by the great Indian experience specially by the Buddhistic. The Tibetan masters, both in solitary hermitages and in the immense and vastly populated convents, have maintained with wonderful fidelity the exegesis to the sacred texts; they have trod the ways traced by great Buddhist doctors in the famous universities of Nalanda, Vikramaśīla and Odantapuri, with conscience stricken operosity, and they have deepened the mystical experiences of the anchorites.

Upto our time, the attention of us orientalists has been engaged preferably in the investigation of historical and chronological problems. This work has been certainly useful, even necessary, but this should never let us lose sight of what should be the essential aim of our researches, namely the intimate understanding of the studied doctrines, rather than their juxtaposition in time. This will partly explain the preference given to Chinese sources in the investigation on Buddhism. They give a lot of references and chronological data which would be lacking otherwise, and which have a great value especially when one thinks that they are concerned especially with the most glorious periods of Buddhism. But if we want to understand in all their values and meanings those doctrines, maintained by the eloquent, but often inefficacious, dress of the word in the texts, and if we want to evaluate adequately their inner spiritual content, then, the Tibetan sources are of precious help to us. Certainly in Tibet there are many historical and chronological works. They constitute invaluable documents for reconstructing the vicissitudes and the affiliations of the schools in the period of late Buddhism and in that of Lamaism. Moreover, they shed indirect light on one of the most obscure periods of Indian history. But the value of the immense Tibetan literature is of a much higher standard. An infinite cohort of exegetes belonging to all sects, from the Bka-dam-pa to the Dge-lugs-pa, from the Rñiṅ-ma-pa to the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, has commented upon, analysed, interpreted, clarified the enormous mass of Buddhist texts. Although this literature has scarce originality, because it follows Indian traditions, nevertheless it has subtlety and depth. It is, in any case, of great help not only to comprehend in a philological way the doctrinal and mystical treatises, but specially to get their actual meaning in order to translate them in our terms, so that we may have an adequate idea of the described experiences which have dominated and directed the spiritual life of great men both in India and in Tibet.

It will shed light for a better understanding of Buddhism, and therefore——since all manifestations of Indian theosophical thought

are intimately connected and since the religion of the Buddha has greatly influenced the whole of the East——we shall prepare ourselves to understand deeper and better the Indian soul and the eastern in general. This world by now should no longer interest us merely as a vast field for philological exercises, it is a world which lives an intense and multiform life of its own and which is called by the historical vicissitudes of our times to enter into a greater and more direct collaboration with us.

The complexity and the vastness of such a research will not allow perhaps great works of synthesis as yet. Besides, there are still many difficulties in this, as for instance the many literatures which one needs to master fairly well and the difficulties to consult all the literary and archaeological sources. Moreover, there are many connections between civilizations and experiences which we do not know as yet, because, although such civilizations and experiences apparently seem to be quite apart from one another, nevertheless they have been linked by hidden and unforeseen currents. Therefore, we can conduct special researches as complete as possible only on particular problems, and the synthesis of such aspects of the life, thought and art of eastern peoples which we can manage to achieve with some possibilities of success through the present state of our knowledge.

Only in this way we can shed definitive light on many dark points which are still obscure in the history of oriental civilization.

As a general rule we quote the documentation in appendix, and we will always translate the texts we use. In this manner the non-specialist as well can follow our researches. This will certainly be a useful thing to our culture in a moment in which distances are disappearing, people coming nearer and trying to understand one another, and the renewing spirit wants to understand all experience and tries again all ways.

FIRST PART

STUPA AND VOTIVE STUPA

(MCHOD-RTEN AND TSHA-TSHA)

Its form, origin, significance and diffusion in Indian and Western Tibet

§ *1. Tibetan literature about the stupa (mchod-rten).* Western Tibet (1)——as far as I know——even more than Central Tibet is covered with mchod-rten(stupas), peculiar monuments aligned along the road, sometimes isolated and sometimes in groups, and sometimes connected with one another by characteristic little walls covered with stones on which is inscribed the sacred formula: *oṁ maṇi-padme hūṁ*(2). Mchod-rten literally means "receptacle, support of the offerings" and in fact it corresponds to the Sanskrit caitya or stupa.

The forms of these stupas are various, but, according to Tibetan tradition, they are mainly to be reduced to eight fundamental ones. Each of them derives, from an Indian prototype, built up, according to the legend, in one of the cities connected by Buddhist literature with the life or teachings of the Saint of the Śakyas. These various types of mchod-rten (stupa) have been described several times in Tibetan literature not only for mere erudition, but also for practical motives, that is to say for dictating the rules and for establishing the proportions which had to be followed in the construction of such monuments. The treatises of this kind about which I could get some information are a manual by Sa-skya Paṇ-chen, an opuscule by Bu-ston (quoted by sources

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(1) Much less the Sutlej valley than Ladakh proper.

(2) Oṁ, oh Maṇipadmā, hūṁ.

I consulted but which I could never see), the *Bde-bar-gsegs-paḥi sku gzugs-kyi tshad-kyi rab-tu-byed-pa yid-bzhin-nor-bu* by Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po and the *Vaiḍūrya g.yaḥ-sel,* namely, the comment and supplement to the *Vaiḍūrya dkar-po,* the greatest and most celebrated Tibetan work on astrology, written by the De-srid Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho. With this I do not mean to assert that all Tibetan literature about the stupa (mchod-rten) is limited to the sources now quoted by me. Possibly, when the enormous libraries of the various monasteries of the Land of Snow are systematically explored and when the bibliographical material spread in the collections of Europe(1) and America is listed, then it would be possible to add new works to these already traced by me. But I do not believe that, at least for the topics we are concerned with now, we could have more detailed and more complete information than what we already have.

As a rule, Tibetan writers are original in exegesis. For the rest they keep a major or minor fidelity to the Indian sources or to their Tibetan forerunners considered to be of better authority.

Since these stupas (mchod-rten) play such a major part in the religious and artistic life of the Tibetan people, I thought useful to reproduce and to translate in the first appendix the chapters of the third and fourth works, the only ones accessible to me. They are concerned, in fact, with Indian prototypes of the Tibetan stupas and give us precise information on their achitecture and on the way to construct them.

The translation work was not easy at all because Tibetan philology is still almost at its start, while both the treatises are full of technical language and of achitectonic terms not even registered or exactly interpreted in the dictionaries at our disposal today.

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(1) For instance notices on the stupa(mchod-rten) should be contained in the treatise entitled in the list of Lama Tsybikov: *Sku gsuṅs thugs rten thigs-rtsa mtshan-ḥgrel-can me-tog ḥphreṅ-ba mdzes zhes-bya-ba* (Musei Asiatici Petropolitani Notitia VII.074 no.27).

And yet it cannot be denied that this literature, so different from that which usually attracts our attention when we are concerned with Tibetan matters, is of rather great importance. It gives us an idea, undoubtedly still fragmentary, but all the same interesting, of the technological knowledge and of the practical activities of the Tibetans, activities which are so scantily known till today(1). The translated texts would be better understood if they are preceded by a section of the two stupas (mchod-rten) considered by them, namely the one called "of the amassed lotuses", and the one called "of the great illumination". For more clarity, we add also, in the same proportions, the scheme of a figure of a stupa (mchod-rten) as reproduced on a thaṅka or Tibetan religious painting (fig. 1 & 2 and pl.I),

In this way we can have an exact idea of the real meaning of the terms, generally symbolic, used by the Tibetan architects to name the various parts of the construction. I have translated them literally, but it is clear that if their architectonical equivalent in the structure of the stupa (mchod-rten) is unknown to us, the extracts put by me in a modern garb would remain almost unintelligible.

From the study of our texts we have interesting notices on the method followed by Tibetans in tracing down the drawing of the building, on the proportions of its various parts, on the way they had to measure them, on the architectonical terms. And since Tibetans have continued, as we will see, Indian traditions, then our sources allow us to have an idea about Indian literature on this topic, and of this we do not have but very scanty fragments.

It does appear that the Tibetan artists divided the building into two independent parts: the basis or throne and the stupa (mchod-rten) as such, in the same way that it is usually done for a

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(1) Herewith I publicly thank Engineer Dino Chiaraviglio who drew the figures of the stupa(mchod-rten) described in my texts, according to the dimensions contained in them. Moreover, he has been of great help in properly understanding the technical portions of the said treatises.

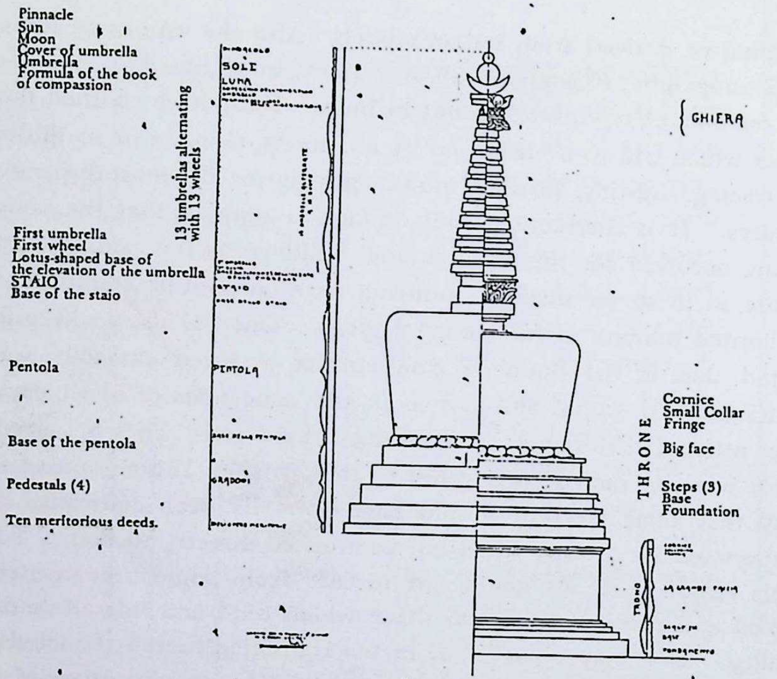
Pinnacle
Sun
Moon
Cover of umbrella
Umbrella
Formula of the book of compassion
13 umbrellas alternating with 13 wheels
First umbrella
First wheel
Lotus-shaped base of the elevation of the umbrella
STAIO
Base of the staio
Pentola
Base of the pentola
Pedestals (4)
Ten meritorious deeds.
SOLE
LUNA
STAIO
PENTOLA
GRADONI
GHIERA
THRONE
Cornice
Small Collar
Fringe
Big face
Steps (3)
Base
Foundation
TRONO

Fig. 1.

statue that is to say that the base is considered as a purely accidental part and in fact it is usually missed in the stupa(mchod-rten) reproduced in the tsha-tsha (votive stupa), which we are going to illustrate later on.

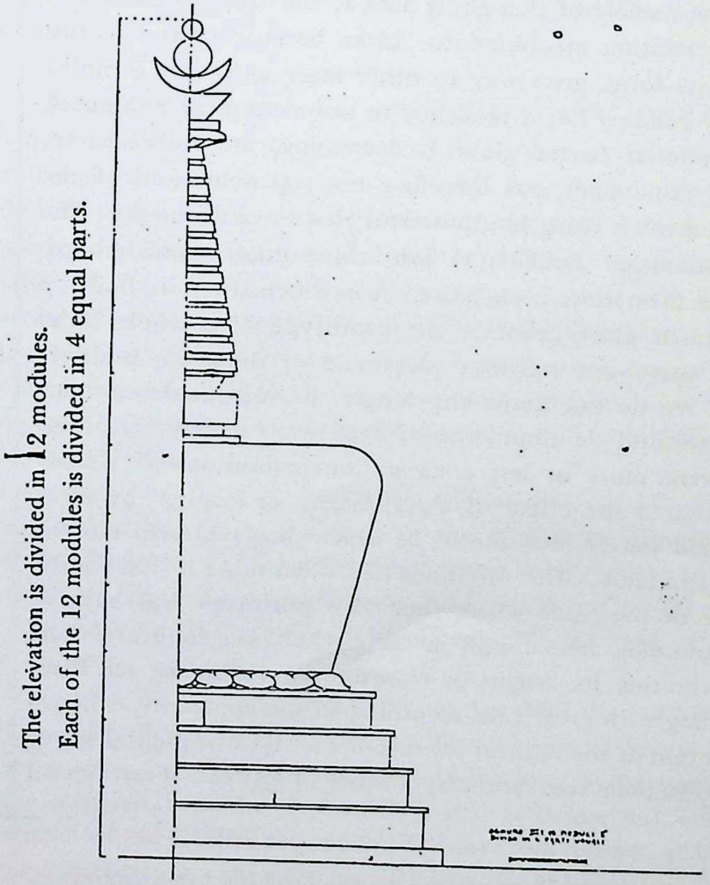
The elevation is divided in 12 modules.
Each of the 12 modules is divided in 4 equal parts.

Fig. 2.

Moreover, the proportions of its various parts are drawn on or starting from a vertical line, the first one to be traced, which line of Brahmā, *tshaṅs-thig* which corresponds to the Sanskrit *Brahmasūtra* or *Brahmadaṇḍa,* the vertebral column. In effect, the same process is followed by painters *(lha-bris-pa)* while tracing the drawing in the paintings they want to reproduce.

We have noted furthermore that little by little the archaic type of the caitya, namely of that going back to the origin of Buddhism and which tradition attributed to Asoka because of the general identity of its form, gives way to other more and more complex types. The building has a tendency to assume a greater thinness, the great *aṇḍa* or central globe is decreasing, the umbrellas are multiplying in number and therefore the super-elevation of the entire monument is rising in a powerful elan towards the sky. The types, classified by Foucher(1) into three fundamental groups, differentiate themselves even more. A new construction, built up in a celebrated place becomes the prototype of a whole series which, for reason of religious piety and of devotion, multiply infinitely. We do not know any longer the reasons determining these architectural developments; if they were merely fortuitous ones, or were more or less conscientious evolutions of already known types, or the effect of a stylization, or inspired by more profound and purely ideal motifs of which they represent but the symbolic expression. The variations depended more or less on the importance of the place where their first prototype was built or by the resounding echo found in the circle of the faithful by the legend celebrating its origins or records. And thus we see them transmigrating with great ease according to the apparently whimsical predilection of the faithful for this or that type of pilgrimage, or imposed upon their veneration by a more or less casual association of facts.

§2. *Its connections with the Indian architectonic literature.*

We do not know till which point this technological literature is

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(1) *Art grèco-boudhique* 1.65ff.

original or derived from Indian models. Also the various treatises of iconography, well known all over Tibet, are all based on manuals of technique *(śilpa)* worked out in India. These have codified the rules which had to be followed by architects, painters or sculptors in tracing, drawing, shaping, moulding, painting the most disparate figures. It is therefore matter of fact to suppose that the same thing occurred for the architectonic buildings as the caityas, even more so in so far these monuments were reduced by tradition to a limited number of fundamental types. One has also to keep in mind that in the Buddhist communities a sacred character was attributed to stupas and caityas in the same manner in which it was attributed to statues and paintings of the gods. They belonged, as it were, to sacred art and not to the profane. This amounted to say that their erection should have normally been controlled or supervised by priests, when not committed directly to them. For this reason such art could not deviate from some fundamental, fixed and precise canons, as those which bind and rule all sacred things. One may object that in the translated literature included in the Tanjur, while there are treatises of iconography, there is no trace of an architectonic manual. The objection is out of mark first of all because Tibetans knew about Indian literature far more than that included in the two great encyclopaedias; and then, because the contents of the edition of the Tanjur of Cone record a *Mchod-rten-gyi mtshan-ñid ston-pa Bu-ston lo-tsai ḥgyur,* namely, a treatise about the characters of the caityas, translated by the Lotsava Bu-ston(1).

Moreover, in volume TU (fol.179) of the section *rgyud-ḥgrel* of the Tanjur (Cordier 2.359 no.139) is inserted a treatise entitled in Tibetan, *Mchod-rten-gyi cha rnam-par-dbye-ba* "definition of the parts of a mchod-rten"(2). The brief treatise is not even registered in the final index of the edition of Narthang and it is evidently a fragment, since there is not the usual title in Sanskrit, the author's name, the translator's, and the place where the translation has been done. And what more, it is almost lost among other manuals mostly of a ritualistic character. Nevertheless, it has in the first sheet and the half, precise indications about the various parts constituting the caitya and about the proportions one has to keep in mind in building it. It is indeed, at least in this section, a brief architectonic manual proving in an irrefutable manner that the symbolic terminology for the various parts of the stupa(mchod-rten) adopted by the Tibetans derives entirely from the Indian masters. Before it is a classification of the eight fundamental types of caityas according to the patterns existent in India, which is totally in agreement with that expressed in the first of our texts. Therefore, it will be not difficult, on the basis of this, to specify the attribution of the said fragment. The parallel, almost always literal except for rare variations, deriving perhaps from Bu-ston and appropriately quoted by our author, between the manual of Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po and the fragment of the Tanjur is so evident that, except for the modifications imposed by the metre, the first text is but repeating the second one. But, just at the end of the section concerning the measures of the various portions of the caitya, when the parallels become complete identity of text, Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po quotes the name of his source: Lhan-cig-skyes-paḥi-rol-pa, namely Sahaja-vilāsa (and not Sahaja-lalita as it is in Cordier), specially known as the author of some sādhanas(1), or methods of mystical realizations. Another Indian example of treatises concerning the

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(1) Laufer, *Das Citralakṣaṇa,* p.57.

(2) Namely *Caityāṁśa-vibhāga* rather than *Caitya-vibhāga* as proposed by Cordier.

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(1) See Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā,* introd. p.cxv.

I did not give the Tibetan text of this fragment because by now it is not difficult to procure copies of the Tanjur, at least in the principal European capitals, and also because the text of Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po, much more extended and therefore easier to understand, is broader. Nevertheless, I have annotated these peculiarities of the text by Sahajavilāsa which make our text clearer or make it somehow more complete.

construction of caityas is the short manuscript kept in Cambridge, Add. 1070-6 (Bendall, *Catalogue,* p.201, VI, folios 1-3a). The corrosion of the final syllables of all the lines of the first and second sheet of the manuscript makes even more difficult the deciphering of the text, which is written in a technical language voluntarily obscure.

§ 3. *The supposed Indian patterns of the eight types of stupa (mchod-rten).* From a comparison of the sources already studied it results that there is among them a general accord, the only noticeable difference is about the position of the eight Indian stupas, considered by the tradition accepted herewith, to have been the models of the Tibetan ones, and about the circumstances of their erection. In order to emphasize more clearly the divergences among our sources, it will be useful to compare both theories, remembering by the way, that A indicates the text of Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po, totally corresponding to that of Sahajavilāsa, and B indicates that of the *Vaiḍūrya g.yaḥ-sel*(1).

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(1) Another list is included in the *Ḥphags-pa kun-nas sgor ḥjug-paḥi ḥod-zer gtsug-tor dri-ma-med-par snaṅ-baḥi gzuṅs bklag-ciṅ mchod-rten brgya-rtsa brgyad dam mchod-rten lṅa gdab-paḥi cho-ga mdo-las btus-pa,* Tanjur, rgyud ḥgrel, vol. TU fol. 154 (Cordier 2.358 no.129).

In this text the eight stupas are: at Lumbinī that of birth, at Vajrāsana (Bodhgaya) that of perfect Illumination, at Śravasti that of the great miracle, at Varanasi that of preaching, at Rajagṛha that of the submission of the elephant Nor-skyoṅ(Dhanapāla), without indication of the locality that of the descent from heaven, at Vaiśālī that commemorating the offering of honey by the monkey, in the country of Malla that of final extinction, mahaparinirvaṇa.

A			B		
Name of the stupa	Locality	Builder	Name of the stupa	Locality	Builder
Descent from heaven	Kapilavastu	Śuddhodana	Id.	Sāṅkāsya	its inhabitants
Grand Illumination	Magadha	Ajātasatru	Id.	Rājagṛha	Bimbisāra
Grand Miracle	Kusinagara	Malla	Id.	Jetavana	Licchavī
Preaching	Varanasi	Brahmadatta			
Kanika	Vaiśālī	Prince of the Licchavis			
Of many doors or Victor	Srāvastī	Prasenajit	Id.	Varanasi	Pancabhadriya
Noble or brilliant	Tshad-ge	Suncidala?	Brilliant or of reconciliation	Rajagṛha	Jeta
Lotus-shaped	Tikacasi	Indrasvāmin	Accumulated lotuses	Kapilavastu	Suddhodana
			nirvana	Kuśinagara	Malla
			about Grace or Victor	Vaiśālī	its inhabitants

We have seen that the sources of the first text can be traced back, but it is also clear that the author of the *Vaiḍūrya g.yaḥ-sel* derives his information from a rather ancient tradition and undoubtedly of Indian origin. This is demonstrated by two hymns preserved in the Chinese Canon: one was transcribed from Sanskrit into Chinese by Fa-sien in 1001, on an original text composed perhaps by king Śīlāditya(1), the other one, translated in Chinese

by the same translator is a sutra, partly in prose and partly in verses, in which the great Eight Caityas are listed.

The order followed in the latter is as follows (Taisho Edition 1685:32.773 Pa Ta Liṅ T'a Miṅ Hao Kin):

1. Kapilavastu and more precisely Lumbinī, where the Buddha was born. Built by Suddhodana.
2. In the kingdom of Magadha on the bank of the river Nairanjanā, where the Buddha got his Enlightenment.
3. In the kingdom of Kāśī in Varanasi, where the first preaching took place.
4. In the garden of Jeta in Srāvastī, where the great miracle occurred.
5. In the kingdom of Sāṅkāsya, in Kānyakubja, where the Buddha ascended to the Tuṣita heaven and then came back again on earth.
6. At Rājagṛha, where the Buddha reconciled the disagreement of the monks.
7. At Vaiśālī, where the Buddha meditated on the length of his own life.
8. At Kuśīnagara between two Śāla trees, where the Buddha entered mahaparinirvāṇa.

This list agrees in every aspect with that given by the author of the *Vaiḍūrya g.yaḥ-sel* and, while it shows us that both the sources derive from Indian traditions, it proves as well that the eight stupas there described, are not to be mistaken with those erected in order to contain the relics of the Saint of the Śakyas. When he ended his earthly life and his mortal remains were cremated, his ashes——thus it has been said——were divided into eight parts which were closed up and protected by the princes and communities, who could obtain them, in eight stupas, or ten or even eleven according to different traditions. Of such traditions there is a trace in the Chinese sources and an echo of them also reached the author of the *Vaiḍūrya g.yaḥ-sel.* In this case the stupas are actual reliquaries; but the eight caityas taken by the Tibetans as model for their stupas(mchod-rten) are, instead, only commemorative monuments, or cenotaphs, erected in some localities especially connected by legend with Buddha's life. They do not have any thing in common with tombs or reliquaries and can be divided in two groups: namely, four, meant to commemorate the essential moments of his earthly life, and four commemorating some of his most famous miracles:

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(1) Restored into Sanskrit by Sylvain Lévi, *Une poésie inconnue du roi Harṣa Çilāditya,* Actes du X Congrès international des Orientalistes, Genève, 1894, section I.

Life	*Miracles*
birth	descent from Tuṣita heaven
enlightenment	great miracle of Śrāvastī
first preaching	miracles of Vaiśālī
parinirvana	conciliation of the dissidents

To sum it up, the mahayanic sources confirm fully what was asserted by Foucher, when he studied the evolution of the most ancient Buddhist caityas according to literary data or the results of archaeological explorations; that is to say that not all the caityas were built to contain relics, but that most of them had a symbolic value. We shall see later on which one.

§ 4. *Why the stupas(mchod-rten) are built.* We should not, therefore, attribute only a funerary character to the numberless stupas(mchod-rten) rising in every shape and in every dimension on Tibetan plains which are said to be derived from Indian ones. It cannot be excluded that some of them could have been built in order to contain the ashes of some lamas celebrated for their sanctity(1), and perhaps also relics brought from India, but generally they are mere commemorative monuments, built to remember either some special events or for the spiritual well-being of the builder and of his relations, or even *ex voto* or for thanks. The construction of a stupa(mchod-rten) comes into the category of those several meritorious works consisting either in propagating faith or in rendering homage to its revealers, by edifying sacred images, copying and transcribing books of the doctrine, erecting religious buildings. In many an inscription collected by me, there is mention of three kinds of work made by Tibetan devotees, following that distinction characteristic of sacred things, into a threefold aspect: sku (kāya), gsuṅ (vāk), thugs (citta), symbolized in the three syllables *oṁ, ā, hūṁ*(1). *Sku rten* are the religious statues and paintings, in our case those images artistically engraved on stones, often encased in special niches, along the walls having engraved in them the prayer: om mani, etc. *Gsuṅ rten* are the sacred books containing the words of the Buddha, or, in the case we are concerned with, the same prayer *oṁ maṇi-padme hūṁ,* covering those walls. *Thugs rten* or receptacle of spiritual strength are just the stupas(mchod-rten) and the temples (lha-khaṅ).

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(1) That stupas were built on tombs of saints is testified also by Chinese sources. See Fa-hien, pp.40, 53; Hiuan Tsang, *Mémoires,* I.112, 317.

(1) This threefold division, having such an important part in Tibetan mysticism, is also derived from India. The school which started to give an esoteric meaning to the three syllables *oṁ ā hūṁ,* symbols as they are of the adamantine Body, Word, and Spirit, namely of the indefectible emanations of the Supreme Being, is the school connected with the Guhyasamāja. This one, since the beginning of the two Tibetan sects of the Bkaḥ-dam-pa and of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, was considered as the fundamental guide for mystical realizations and experiences. The eleventh chapter (paṭala) of this text, wholly dedicated to the esoteric interpretation of the three syllables, among other things says:

oṁkāraṁ jñānahṛdayaṁ kāyavajrasamāvahaṁ
āḥkāraṁ bodhinairātmyaṁ vākyavajrasamāvahaṁ
hūṁkāraṁ kāyavākcittaṁ trivajrābhedyaṁ āvaham.

"The letter *oṁ* beginning of mystic science is vehicle of the adamantine essence of the Body; the letter *āḥ* (symbol of the) impersonality of all things is the vehicle of the adamantine essence of the Word; the letter *hūṁ* is (symbol) of the Body, of the Word and of the Spirit and is indestructible vehicle of the threefold adamantine essence".

The Chinese translation (Taisho 18.479a) reads rather in a different way:

"The letter *oṁ* is the foundation of the mystic science and is synonymous with the adamantine essence of the Body; the letter *ā* indicates the impersonality of things and is synonymous with the adamantine essence of Word; the letter *hūṁ* (stands for) the indestructible and is synonymous of the adamantine essence of the Spirit".

When we want to specify the motifs and the character of such monuments we are helped by epigraphic and literary data, which allow us to understand better the meaning acquired by the caityas in the religious life of the followers of mahāyāna, and allow us to reconstruct those complex beliefs that stimulate their building up.

And the research would not be useless.

By investigating the motifs which have suggested their construction we may in fact discover that religious psychology of the Tibetan faithful which is perhaps of major value than the mere theories of doctors and exegetes because it reflects the concrete and living forms assumed by the great Buddhist experience when spread among multitudes.

We have already stated that the construction of the stupas (mchod-rten) and of the small walls having the Lamaistic prayer engraved on them, generally in Tibet have no funerary character. And if by chance this character should be present, then it is merely a secondary one and it is surely rather rare since in my explorations of hundreds of stupas(mchod-rten), with inscriptions, I did not find even one of them which the epigraphic data could allow to consider as being erected on the relics of some saints. They, instead, are inspired by that complex religious sentiment moulding the entire life of the Tibetans, and inherited by them, perhaps even exaggerated, from their Indian masters.

To construct them does not only mean to give visible expression to one's own faith, but also to obey the precept of liberality that Buddhism always inculcated as one of the most efficacious, but also more difficult to put into practice, virtues. In fact, he who gives, who sacrifices something of his wealth, of his person or of his very desires, makes an act of renunciation and succeeds, at least in that very moment, to put the others before one self. Rightly Buddhism saw liberality (dāna) as the first of the six or ten perfections (pāramitā) that the perfect Buddhist has to practise in his life, with full coherence.

But, as our texts affirm, there is no gift as valuable as the gift of Law: to reveal to others the liberating doctrine, to teach the difficult way leading to salvation, to put into others' souls, with the example of one's own faith, that *udvega,* that perturbation tearing us away from our peaceful life, to our ordinary *carpe diem* (keep the day), and fix our eyes of the spirit towards things and truths not always visible, but even more alive, present, real than the small pleasures and interests of our daily toils. And what else are the building of such stupas(mchod-rten) or of such small walls covered with prayers, but the gift of Law, a preaching committed to the building or to the stones of sacred doctrines, summed up in short formulas enclosing in themselves its fundamental principles? These caityas, in fact, are known by the name of dharmakāya-caitya(1) "caityas of the body of Law" in order to differentiate them from the others, containing some relics *(śarīra, sku-gduṅ, riṅ-bsrel)* of the Buddha or of some saints. Hence, the tsha-tsha, which as we shall see later on, are received by the stupas(mchod-rten) or which are put in them at the moment of their inauguration, as containing the heart *(hṛdaya, sñiṅ-po)* of the very doctrine, have impressed on them very frequently the famous verse usually considered as the summing up of the entire Buddhistic faith:

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṁ teṣāṁ tathāgataḥ/
hy avadat teṣāṁ ca yo nirodha evaṁvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ//.

"The Tathāgata, the great truthful ascetic, revealed the cause of the things having their beginning from a cause, and their disappearance".

When, instead, the mystic schools take the lead, they shall be rather dhāraṇī, or more or less enigmatic summaries of beliefs or tantric interpretations (as for instance the formulas of the Vimaloṣṇīṣa and of the Vijayoṣṇīṣa) which usually will be recited during the consecration of the stupa(mchod-rten).

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(1) See text cited on p.21 n.1 (Cordier, *Catalogue,* 2.358 no.129) folio 154.

In this way to build a stupa(mchod-rten) would mean to renew the preaching of the Law, namely to help in that work of serene conversion, based on persuasion and example, which is the soul of the entire Buddhistic apostolate. Hence, as it is said by a text(1), when one has a caitya built has to make a vow to strive so that all creatures could have a vision of the Buddha, could hear the Law almost evoked again, could have reverence for the community, received for safe-keeping and transmitted faithfully.

This character, thus attributed to the caityas, is proved also by the ceremonies preparing and accompanying their building; in them is prescribed the recitation of sacred books(2), preferably in mahayanic milieu, of course those of the Prajñāpāramitā, of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa, of the Ratnakūta, of the Vimaloṣṇīṣa, etc. This reading is called, in fact, gift of the Law, *dharmadāna, chos sbyin*. Having in mind this principle, inspiring the construction of the stupa (mchod-rten), it is not a wonder if sometimes whole books are put in them, and, in fact, the recent explorations of archaeologists have often brought back to light such books, both in Central Asia and at Gilgit, as in the last lucky discovery of Stein. This custom is remembered by literary sources and recommended by liturgical texts. We read, for instance, in a canonical book about the merit deriving from the building of caityas(3): "in the stupa the relics of the Tathagata are put, hair, teeth, hair of beard, nails, even a single particle, or else there is put the treasure of the Law of the Tathāgata, namely the twelve kinds of canonical books down to the simple stanza in four verses: "The Tathāgata, the great ascetic; etc."

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(1) Cordier, *Catalogue*, 2.358 no.129, fol.155.

(2) Ibid. fol.. 150.

(3) Tsao t'a kuṅ tö.kiṅ, Taisho 699, p.801a, b.

"This stanza speaks of the body of the Law of the Buddha. If there is a man understanding the meaning of this (Law of) cause and destruction (of things, as it is summarily expounded here) this man can be said to see the Buddha (in its true essence)".

The person who walks in the street near these monuments, so materialized and quasi-eternized by the piety of their founders, is moved towards sentiments of faith and devotion. He would recite a prayer, would make an offering, and perform pradakṣiṇa turning to the right; that is to say that he would perform so many devoted acts which will deposit a seed of goodness in his spirit and which will bear fruits in this life and in the other.

This explains why Buddhist literature, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, is full of texts and citations imposing and prescribing homage *(vandanā)* to be given to the caityas(1), and this can assume all possible nuances. The Buddhists have not insisted too much on the richness of an offering, but rather on the sincerity and inner spontaneity with which it is made.

That is how, in the religious psychology of a Tibetan who constructs a stupa(mchod-rten) acquires great merit for himself and is useful, morally useful to others––in Buddhist terminology he would be called *kalyāṇamitra*––by realizing that which is one of the capital precepts of the Buddhist credo: *parātmahita,* welfare of others and one's own.

All this, said by me, is confirmed in the inscriptions, usually engraved on blocks of stone, mixed up with innumerable others, written in various scripts, Tibetan, Lantsa, Vartula, the famous Lamaistic prayer. They hint very often at the motif of the construction of these very monuments. He who has them constructed is called, with a terminology taken from India, *sbyin-bdag-po, dānapati,*

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(1) Mahāvastu 2.373f. and Svayambhūpurāṇa 126, 127; Aśokāvadānamālā, chapter X, You jao fo t'a kuṅ tö kiṅ, Taishō 700:vol.16. Also Jayanta Bhaṭṭa hints at the cult of the caityas as essential to Buddhist ritual: *Nāstyātmā phalabhogamātram; atha ca svargāya caityārcanam* (Nyāyamañjarī, p.467).

yon-bdag-po/yajamāna, the munificient, the sacrificer. In fact these buildings are very costly not so much for the accompanying festivals, but especially for the great amount of money given for the consecration, which goes to the officiating monks. The inscriptions inform us that the monuments were erected either to obtain liberation *(tshe ḥdi ḥdas-pa mthar-lam thob-paḥi phyir)* for one self and one's dead relations, or to beg of the gods welfare and prosperity *(don du, bkra-śis)* for one's own children, or to give advantage to all living beings. Therefore the usual formula ending such epigraphical schemes is always the usual: *sems-can thams-cad saṅs-rgyas gyur-cig* "may all beings reach Buddha's condition".

This prayer, that assumes in a short formula all the different prayers of the hymnology or of mahayanic ritualism, is actually that which the Buddhists call a *praṇidhāna*, a vow. In fact, not a single work of this kind, as also no ritual act, is performed without having in mind a given goal. Nevertheless, *praṇidhana,* for Mahayana, is not a wish, a *saṅkalpa,* as the one determining any act of complex Hindu ritualism, but it is a vow and a solemn vow. That is to say that it is the vow of striving for obtaining in future the supreme illumination (bodhi) which is in fact the highest goal that every creature has to propose to itself. He who formulates such a vow, actually starts walking on the difficult and long way that has to be walked through by the Bodhisattvas, because the formulation of a vow cannot be dissociated from its practice(1). It imposes, first of all, the sacrifice of one's self for the sake of others, as an

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(1) Actually Santideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.15.10 (see my translation *In cammino verso la luce*/ On the way towards light, G.B. Paravia, p.4) says: "to say it in short, this thought of reaching illumination has to be recognized as twofold: the thought of the vow of illumination, and the act of walking towards illumination".

essential principle. The Bodhisattva, in other words, is not solved in the conquest of illumination moved by the desire of his particular salvation, but only because he knows that by taking this vow and by imposing such a goal to himself he will benefit the greatest number of creatures.

That prayer, moreover, implies two things: on one side the merit *(puṇya)* gained by building up such religious monuments or by doing devout works, and on the other side, the possibility of renouncing it for the sake of creatures, so that all those still living in sin and error, may take advantage for themselves from our goodness and our virtue. This is the virtue of *pariṇāmanā,* i.e. of the transmission of merits from those who perform them to others, and this is one of the essential elements of the ethic of mahayāna.

Thus, the very religious psychology of the Buddhistic schools of Mahāyāna, which shaped the conscience of the Tibetan faithful, points to a double spur to the construction of the buildings we are concerned with. From one side, the thought of illumination, and on the other, the compassion *(karuṇā),* namely the two great poles around which all the practical and ethical activity of the "Great Vehicle" turns. Thus, a Chinese text, translated from Sanskrit, considers them both as the two necessary preconditions for the building up of the caityas(1), because, when somebody wants to erect them, even before the initial ceremony "he has to take compassion for all creatures as his guiding principle, and the thought of obtaining illumination as his base".

From all that we have said, it appears, then, that the construction of a caitya is one of the many meritorious works contributing to our moral perfection, or, as the Buddhists say it, to the accumulation of virtue (*puṇya-saṃbhāra,* first moment). The conquest of nirvana or of the very illumination is a long and difficult process and, except for some exceptions, cannot be realized in a short time. It needs, first of all, to persevere in goodness, moral goodness and religious purity, because only in this way the mind will be purified from all dross of sin, and will be able to comprehend perfectly transcendental wisdom. To its accumulation *(jñāna-sambhāra,* second moment), in fact, only he who is morally pure, can reach. On one side then a life moulded to religious precepts, bringing as its fruit happiness and prosperity, as much as possible in this existence *(abhyudaya),* and on the other, the supreme goodness, salvation *(naiḥśreyas),* belonging only to him who has reached and experienced the supreme truth(1).

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(1) Tsao t'a yen miṅ kuṅ tö kiṅ, Taishō 1026:19.726b.

§ 5. *The stupa(mchod-rten) engraved or in miniature.* What we have said regarding the character of the Tibetan stupas leads us to consider other developments that the buildings or the reproduction of the figures of a stupa(mchod-rten), considered as meritorious works, can assume.

The fact is that in order to acquire religious merit or in order to accomplish a vow, it is not absolutely necessary when there are no means at one's disposal to build an actual stupa(mchod-rten). In accordance with Buddhist learning, for which the mere intention is enough to give value to the act, Tibetans and their own masters, i.e. the Indians, believed that religious merit could come by mere tracing the drawing of a stupa(mchod-rten) or by building them up in miniature. We have a proof of this in the many graffiti of stupas (mchod-rten) all along the banks of Indus, near the monastery of Alchi, in Ladakh, as illustrated by Francke(2). They cannot even be considered as isolated examples, because every rock or every stone near a temple or along the road, has such drawings, especially in the most ancient centres, while, as we may see, many tsha-tsha are stupas(mchod-rten) in miniature, quickly made with earth and sand, by wayfarers along the roads. In these cases too Tibetans

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(1) *Abhyudaya* and *naiḥśreyas* are, in fact, the two moments in which the Ratnāvalī by the great Nāgārjuna divides the moral ascent of the individual.

(2) *Indian Antiquary* 1902. Compare *Dritte Sammlung von Felszeichnungen aus Unter-Ladak.* Kielang. S.D

were preceded by Indians. The fragment we have previously quoted which is attributed to Sahajavilāsa, expressly says that caityas can not only be erected, "but they can be engraved on earth or rocks according to rules by experienced persons, or, by collecting earth, stone or wood, they can be erected"(1). Archaeological data confirm the literary sources. Good examples of stupas, engraved or graffiti on rocks, are not lacking in India. I quote among others those found by Waddell on mount Uren(2).

That Indians used to make occasional stupas of earth or other substances is demonstrated by a passage, for instance, in the *Kudṛsti-nirghātana* by Advayavajra, or of the Chinese translation mentioned above, which recalls moulds used for modelling caityas. This mould therefore can only refer to monuments in miniature and not to actual buildings.

The ceremony described by Advayavajra (*Advayavajra-saṅgraha* ed. H.P. Sastri, p.8) is that of kneading with sand or earth the small figure of a caitya, and to consecrate it with a specific ritual. It is clear that a caitya so moulded became the ideal symbol of all the possible caityas spread on earth.

Its construction accompanied by prescribed formulas earns a merit equal to that of him who erects an infinite number of them, or even adoration due to it is as efficacious as that offered to millions of such monuments(3). It is a comfortable expedient, it could be said, which allows to avoid those long, costly and risky pilgrimages to those sacred places, enjoined on the faithful both by Buddhist as well as Hindu religions, if not as a precise obligation, at least as a dutiful custom. It is, however, clear that it is erroneous to attribute such a pragmatic goal to those milieux which have projected or have promoted ceremonies of this kind. Mahāyānic Buddhism solves the world of being in thought: our imagining is that which gives existence and shape to all. This imagination through a rigorous causal connection creates this complex appearing and disappearing of phenomena, considered real by us, in our ignorance of the supreme truth, while they are nothing but the shadow of a dream. Hence, doing a thing does not necessarily imply to perform it materially, because, when we perform it, the very elements co-operating in it and its results (even if they do appear to us as something material) actually are mere assumptions of our *vikalpas* and *saṅkalpas,* discrimination and synthesis, to which only *avidyā* gives life and consistency.

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(1) TU 179: *Yaṅ-na saḥam rdo-dag-la mkhas-pas tshul-bzhin brko-bar-bya saḥam rdoḥam śiṅ-dag yaṅ-na tshogs-pas brtsigs-par-bya.*

(2) *Discovery of Buddhist remains at Mount Uren in Munger District,* JBAS 1892, pl. II.

(3) The same principle is found in the Chinese treatise quoted above (T. 1026), according to which by reciting the *koṭidharaṇi,* 21 times, the caitya in moulding will be ideally multiplied in ten millions *(koṭi)* of similar caityas.

This way of seeing prepares and helps that atmosphere full of magic where, with its ceremonies and its complex cults, Mahāyāna moves about. It is the psychological presupposition of the ceremonies described by Advayavajra as well as, on a larger scale, of those "offerings and mental sacrifices" which are created, wanted, represented with intensity in one's own mind, but not actually performed. They are of the kind described and formulated by Śāntideva in the second chapter of his Bodhicaryāvatāra.

§ 6. *Ritual for the building of a stupa(mchod-rten).* It shall be useful to translate in whole the ritual and the formulas accompanying and consecrating the making of small caityas, as described by Advayavajra. In this way we may have a glimpse of one of the many aspects of complex Tantric liturgy, a topic that still awaits, and perhaps will for a long time, a systematic study.

"Om, honour be to the Blessed Vairocana, the luminous king, the Tathāgata, the venerable, the Perfect Buddha. Thus: *Oṁ sūkṣme sūkṣme/ same samaye(1)/ śānte dānte/ saṁārope/ anālambe/ prabhārave(2) yaśovati mahāteje nirākule/(3) nirvāṇe(4)/ sarva-buddh-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhite/ svāhā.*

"This formula (the performer) should recite twenty times over an handful of earth or of sand, and then he has to make with it a caitya. As many atoms as there are in it, that many millions of caityas shall be built and he (the performer) will obtain as numerous merits as all the atoms contained in it. He shall become lord of the tenth earth(5) and shall soon obtain supreme illumination. So the Blessed Vairocana the Tathāgata said".

"With the verse 'the Tathāgata, the truly great ascetic, of the things having origin from a cause has revealed the cause, out of which they arise and their disappearing', he (the performer) should perform the consecration; then he should say: oṁ, honour be to the Blessed Ratnaketu, the king, the Tathāgata, the venerable. Thus: *oṁ ratne ratne mahāratne ratnavijaye(6) svāhā.* In this way he performs the adoration of the caitya. Due to that formula the adoration of a single caitya is equal to the adoration of a million caityas".

The formulas which I have not translated, but have left in the Sanskrit original are dhāraṇī, namely mnemonic formulas condensing without grammatical exactitude and in sentences which therefore become symbols rather than adequate and complete expressions, some fundamental precepts of the doctrine. Most of the time they are incomprehensible without the help of an interpretation revealing the esoteric significance given to them by the different schools.

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(1) Tib.: *samaya prasamaya.*

(2) Skt.: *tarambe.*

(3) Skt.: *nirākulanirvāṇe.*

(4) Tib.: *ninirvāṇakatseni.*

(5) The supreme of the ten earths through which the Bodhisattva has to ascend progressively.

(6) Tib.: *ratnabodhi.*

This at least apparent incomprehensibility has eased the transfer, or better the identification with the mantras or formulas of invocation, of exorcism and of magic(1).

Not even the Tibetans translate these dhāraṇī which, together with mantras have remained unchanged till today, both in China and in Tibet and for their very incomprehensibility and the magic character necessarily accompanying any thing which cannot be understood, are taken to be as the most sacred and efficacious symbol of the Law.

In the first formula quoted by Advayavajra, for instance, appear again terms well known to theology and mystic of Mahāyāna. To initiated persons they would remind the most usual attributes which normally are applied to the Absolute, the Tathāgata-garbha, the background of being, which is always beyond the perennial flowing of things, things which become but are not, and only appear because the supreme truth contains them in itself, and at the same time it denies them.

Sūkṣme the subtle one, impossible to be known with senses or with dialectics, object of mystic vision and not of reason.

Same the identic one. It hints at the substantial identity of the Absolute with all things, for which reason everything is itself, and therefore *samaye* possibility of being identified with it.;

Śānte, dānte point at the peace of spirit and submission of senses, necessary virtues for the attaining of truth.

Samārope recalls its inseparable correlate *apavāda. Samāropa* is the erroneous attribution of qualities not belonging to the given object; *apavāda* is the negation of qualities belonging to it.

Anālambe or *nirālambane* is the quality of the Absolute of not being object *(ālambana)* of logical discrimination and it designates the fundamental principle of Buddhism's idealistic schools, namely that knowing does not derive from an external object, but the being of a thing is given by its being thought.

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(1) G. Tucci, 'Notes on the Laṅkāvatara, *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1928:545.

Prabhārave, I doubt whether the Tibetan word is exact. The Sanskrit term is undoubtedly corrupted. I would propose *prabhāsvare,* luminous, fundamental attribute of Being, which is pure thought without being thought.

Yaśovati mahāteje, the glorious one, the brilliant one, they insist on the preceding attribute.

Nirākule, the not turbid one. It expresses in a negative form the same concept.

Sarvabuddh-ādhiṣṭhan-ādhiṣṭhite, blessed by the grace of all the Buddhas, it hints at the revelation of the supreme truths by the Buddhas.

In the second dharani the word *ratna* is repeated thrice: a hint to the three gems Buddha, Law, community, symbolizing Buddhism and to the greatest gem: i.e. illumination.

But one has not to believe that the ritual preserved by Advayavajra is the only one followed in the Tantric communities. Ceremonies were different according to the fact whether there was concern for actual caityas to be erected for the sake of some munificent lord, *dānapati,* in this or that locality, or it concerned caityas in miniature, as those treated by Advayavajra. These had more or less the same meaning and value as the tsha-tsha. In the first case, it is necessary to trace the maṇḍala according to the prescribed rules, to invoke the presence of this or that divinity, to proceed to the reading of sacred texts, to formulate a vow, etc. In the second case, the ritual is not actually distinguishable from that followed for moulding the tsha-tsha. But also in this circumstance each school, although respecting the order of the various moments consecrated by tradition, was very free to change formulas or to give different meaning to rites, according to the divinity under whose grace *(adhiṣṭhāna)* the ceremony was held. That is why ritualistic prescriptions *(vidhi)* multiply themselves and such a great quantity of them is still preserved in the Tanjur(1).

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(1) Besides the treatises already quoted in this study, see also e.g. in the Tanjur, rgyud ḥgrel, vol. TU, *mchod-rten brgya-rtsa*

The differences, however, are not such as to merit investigation into their details. It is not here that we find the most interesting aspects of Buddhist liturgy.

§ 7. *The stupa(mchod-rten) as repository of sacred things.* If the caityas had but rarely a funerary character, this does not leave out the possibility that once constructed the caityas could have been used as receivers of relics. Even nowadays he who looks into the small windows opening on the sides of such monuments will find that the more or less spacious enclosure in the interior of stupas is usually full of fragments of sacred things. These are such things which the religious piety of Tibetans and even more than that the living sense of *sacer* (Latin for sacred) guiding all their (Tibetan's) actions, forbids to destroy. A consecrated thing will never lose its character. A statue or a religious painting (thaṅ-ka) cannot be introduced in the domestic temple or in that of the monastery if with a long ceremony a lama, expert in the matter, had not given life *(srog)* to the divinities there represented. This he can do through the seed, *sa-bon,* Sanskrit *bīja,* or mystic syllable calling over them the presence or the blessing of the very god. In the same way the printed book or the manuscript, represents the third one of the three possible bodies of the Buddha: the verb, supplementing the other two, namely the mental and the material. Therefore, neither a torn sheet of a rumpled book nor a thaṅ-ka spoilt by time can be thrown away as an old and useless thing. That would be profanation and impiety. According to Buddhist and Tibetan religious psychology every act fructifies inexorably and of all sins despising or offending that which belongs to Buddha is the worst. Hence the stupa(mchod-rten) is the safest repository of all objects or sacred things useless at present.

§ 8. *Symbolism attributed to the stupa(mchod-rten) according to Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.* It seems natural that in a country like India there could occur, in the formation of the general type of stupa(mchod-rten), other elements, besides a natural process of development from the original caitya. Specially in the Mahayāna period, symbolism takes further advantage. Symbolism in fact is a general form of religious expression, in a country overbearingly mastered by religion. All connected with faith is expressed in a fantastic language of lines and forms, which raise the believer or the initiated to planes of higher experiences. They are, therefore, efficacious vehicles of mystical realizations. Indian art was never guided by technical exactitude, nor by faithful reproduction of visible things. To build, to paint, to sculpt or engrave, all this means to translate into hieroglyphs of lines or of forms or of colour, experiences and truths and intuitions, present with more or less clarity in the spirit of all. This is a kind of common background dominating the imagination and the thinking of India. It is therefore natural to suppose that the stupas also could mirror such a principle, although for the great part we are no longer able to understand or to reconstruct that symbolism which has inspired and determined a construction just in that and not in another manner.

Once the possibility of interpreting symbolically any religious object is accepted, or which amounts to be the same, of considering it as a materiated and therefore symbolic expression of doctrines and truths, it is obvious that such an interpretation may change from school to school. Especially in the religious field, there is not a fixed and absolute relation between a doctrine, a principle, an experience, and its representation. New orientations in consciences changed spiritual exigencies, enlarged life-views, may as well take again old forms consecrated by tradition and therefore not easily replaceable, nevertheless, they understand them in a different way, give them new content, and make them the symbol of other

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brgyad bya-ba (Cordier 2.358 no.130); *mchod-rten gdab-paḥi cho-ga* (Id. no.131); *mchod-rten daṅ tsha-tsha gdab-pa* (Id. no.132); *mchod-rten lṅa gdab-paḥi cho-ga* (Id. p.289, no.25), vol. PI, *mchod-rten bsgrub-paḥi cho-ga mdor-bsdus-pa* (Id. p.161, no.5).

experiences. Contemporary sects, but with different religious or metaphysic presuppositions, interpret the same symbols, during the same period of time, in different ways. And yet every one of them thinks to be true. India offers many instances of this superposition of symbols. In our case as well, it is obvious that, once accepted the possibility of interpreting symbolically a caitya, the various sects soon sprout from Buddhism––could see in the caitya the expression and the material and plastic images of different truths, although its origins could have been determined by a given motif which was responsible for a given architectonical shape and not for another one. Possibly, the interpretations of all of them are arbitrary, but not in the least less worthy of study and less real. In fact, their reality is actually the fact of having been for centuries the core of unshakable beliefs by an endless number of faithful, drawing from them inspiration and occasion for concrete religious experiences.

It is easily conceivable that the caitya, believed to be the image and the receptacle of Law, in Hīnayāna schools would be considered as the material symbol of the various moral and mystical rules, actually representing the very essence of the Buddhistic doctrine. The thing, by the way, is somehow perceived through the terminology of the various parts of the caitya as remains in architectonic manuals. It is also proved by a fragment coming from a not better known collection of disciplinary rules, or vinaya, quoted without exact indications of source, author or translator, by the Tanjur, vol. TU, fol.174(1).

The parts of a caitya, remembered in this text, are: the four bases, the support of the pentola (pot), the pentola, the upper portion, the turret *(pu-su, harmya, harmikā)*, the tree of life *(srog-śiṅ, daṇḍa, yaṣṭi)*, the thirteen wheels, and the umbrella. That is to say that in this fragment we have a caitya less complex than that has been described by the texts studied above. Also the

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(1) Cf. vol. TU, fol.161a (Cordier 2.358 no.129) and vol. GU, fol.316, 317 (Cordier 2.289 no.25 *mchod-rten sgrub-paḥi cho-ga)*.

terminology is partially different. Instead of *droṇa*, we have *harmya*. All this give us the idea of a caitya of a rather archaic kind except for the thirteen umbrellas surmounting it. It is known, in fact, that the umbrellas in ancient times were usually five, later nine, exceptionally fifteen or more(1).

The first base corresponds to the four awarenesses, *smṛty-upasthāna:* namely those concerning the body, sensation, mind, law respectively *(kāya-vedanā-citta-dharma-sm.up.)*.

The second base corresponds to the four perfect renunciations *(prahāṇa)* namely: resolution of renouncing sinful actions not yet started, resolution of renouncing sinful actions already started, desire of applying oneself to good actions not yet started, desire of bringing to a perfect end the good actions already begun.

The third base symbolizes the four coefficients of miraculous powers *(ṛddhipāda):* determination of will, determination of mind, determination of energies, determination of investigation.

The fourth base symbolizes the five faculties *(pañcendriya):* those of faith, energy, awareness, concentration, mystic science.

The base of the pentola symbolizes the five corresponding powers *(pañcabala):* namely, that of faith etc.

The pentola symbolises the seven concurrences of illumination *(bodhyaṅga)* namely: awareness, examination of law, energy, satisfaction, serenity, concentration, equanimity.

The turret symbolises the eightfold path *(aṣṭāṅga-mārga):* perfect vision, perfect imagining, perfect word, perfect action, perfect system of life, perfect activity, perfect awareness, perfect concentration.

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(1) Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique,* p.76, 77, 79.

The tree of life symbolizes the ten knowledges, namely: knowledge of law, of others' thought, of connection, empiric knowledge, knowledge of suffering, of its origin, of its cessation, of the way conducive to such a cessation, knowledge of things doomed to disappearance, knowledge of non-production of things.

The first wheel symbolizes the mystical power consisting in knowing suitable and unsuitable places for the preaching and activity of the Buddha(1).

The second one symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing what is the maturation of different karman.

The third symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing all meditations, liberations, extasis, union with superior spheres (= seventh of the list of Mahāvyutpatti).

The fourth symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing the superior and inferior faculties (= fifth of Mahāvyutpatti).

The fifth symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing the different inclinations of beings (= third of the Mahāvyutpatti).

The sixth symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing the different spheres of existence (= fourth of Mahāvyutpatti).

The seventh symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing the way leading to any desired place (= sixth of the Mahāvyutpatti).

The eighth symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing and remembering the preceding existences.

The ninth symbolizes the mystic power consisting of knowing the time of death and rebirth.

The tenth symbolizes the mystic power consisting of destroying sinful forces.

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(1) That is to say, the ten powers, *daśabala,* of the Buddha are listed till the tenth wheel.

The eleventh, the twelfth and the thirteenth, symbolize the three supports of awareness peculiar to the Buddhas (*āveṇika-smṛtyupasthāna).*

The umbrella symbolizes the great mercy through which the Buddhas perform the good of all creatures (1).

The same symbolism is attributed to the accessorial elements of caitya, which actually are its ornaments. They are the *stambhas* (*rdo-riṅ*) or stone pillars, the *makaradhvaja, chu-sriṅ-gyi rgyal-mtshan* or standard with the figure of a sea monster, the stairs (*sopāna, them-skas*), garlands of flowers, bells, umbrellas, standards, etc.

Thus, for instance, the stone pillars symbolize the four fearlessnesses of the Buddha (*vaiśāradya*), the steps the four defences of Buddha (*catvāry ārakṣyāṇi*); the standard with the figures of sea-monster symbolize the victory over the four species of satanic forces, *māra* (2).

It is clear that this interpretation of the architectonic structure of caitya mirrors the beliefs of Hīnayāna centres. The entire monument is represented as the visible image of those truths whose practice and observance in life were inculcated by dogmatic and by canonical literature. There is almost a progress and a better perfection while one goes towards the upper portion. In the same way in which a construction becomes thinner and goes up towards sky, so from the fundamental virtues one goes up to those powers and mystical faculties that accompany a great spirituality and an effective progress in the difficult road leading to sanctity. It is therefore strange that in this scheme there are not the ten meritorious deeds representing the basis of any life moulded to precise moral laws.

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(1) Tanjur, vol. GU, fol. 317a (Cordier 2.289 no.25) adds that the moon symbolizes the pure thought of illumination, the mirror (instead of sun) the four transcendental knowledges (Mahāvyutpatti V), and the pinnacle the six supernatural faculties (*abhijñā*).

(2) The symbolism is evidently suggested by the name *makaradhvaja* meaning standard, but also is an epithet of the God of Love, who as is known was identified by the Buddhists with the God of Death, Māra.

The whole construction, in short, can be imagined to be made up of two distinct parts. Nevertheless, one part is but the base and support of the other in which it progressively inserts itself and by uniting itself with which it creates the unity and the slenderness of the very monument. The turret marks the ideal division between the two parts. Hence, in the stupa (mchod-rten) there is mirrored the double moment when the totality of the Law and of its factors is divided by Buddhist schools in that moment called cause and that called effect. The first includes the moral praxis, and the perfect observation of the religious precepts: the second signifies the complex purity resulting from the previous praxis, and it constitutes the very attributes and the very essence of those elected ones who could realize wholly the supreme good (1).

Nobody would believe that so complex a symbolism could move the first creators of the caityas. This one goes back to ancient models, whose origins and whose primary significance is unknown to us. Nevertheless, it is certain that symbolism was so rational and coherent that once imagined, we do not know by whom and when, it surely gained the favour of the faithful. This gave a value and a meaning to the monument already considered as the body of the Law, the emblem of the word of Buddha and of his preaching, at the same time, it perfectly answered to that character of the Indian psyche, for this psyche in fact allegory and symbol represent a means of expression more eloquent and meaningful that it can be for us. In fact, it answers to a peculiar character of their way of thinking and imagining things.

More difficult is to specify the symbolic interpretation given to the caityas by the Mahāyāna schools and centres.

How, in fact, could Mahāyāna have represented in evident symbols its doctrine postulating as fundamental principle that all things

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(1) Tanjur, rgyud ḥgrel, vol. TU (Cordier 2.358 no. 129) fol. 161a ff.

do not have objective reality, and as expressed in the terminology of Nagarjuna are "void" (*śūnya*) ? The objection was certainly felt by some thinkers of Mahāyāna. In fact, Śāntigarbha studying the ritual connected with the construction of caityas (1), says: "caitya is said to be the image of the body of the Law, constructed by human industry with earth, rock, wood, gold or silver. Now, an image is said to be a specific visible form. How is this possible? All texts, in fact, say that the body of the Law is incorporeal. and similar to ether. But even if all things in their essence are not real, nevertheless, due to their peculiar being partially cause and partially effect, they are represented in the form of a stupa (mchod-rten). On the other side, since the body of the Law (=the Absolute) represents perfection of all things, both cause and effect, therefore it is said that in the stupa (mchod-rten) there is the body of the Law. Hence, this visible form is called image" (2).

This means that, even in this case, the masters of Mahāyāna did continue the traditions of the Little Vehicle. That is to say, that, even if from the point of view of the Supreme Truth every thing is 'void', namely antinomic, not demonstrable, not existing a self-existence, all this does not imply that moral rules and Buddha's attributes, as prescribed by disciplinary treatises and numbered in dogmatic manuals, should be words devoid of meaning. The doctrine of void, says Nāgārjuna, can not be confounded with nihilism. It is true that, as soon as the supreme truth has been recognized in its depth, everything from the moral laws to the person of the Buddha, will appear transient and perishable. But till one has not reached that supreme illumination transcending our reason, the whole teaching of the Little Vehicle has the value of a means, because it is useful, as we have said, for purification. Therefore, it makes us worthy of receiving that truth that, on the contrary, if badly learnt by those who are not yet prepared to receive it, it will not be a way to liberation but it will open the doors of perdition. It would be, as Nāgārjuna says, as one who being unskillful in using the right formula would try to perform the job of a snake-charmer.

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(1) Tanjur, GU fol. 319b.

(2) *de-la daṅ-por mchod-rten ni chos-kyi skuḥi gzugs-brñan żes smos-te / sa daṅ rdo daṅ śiṅ daṅ gser dṅul-la sogs-pa-dag-las sems-can-gyi rtsol-pas bsgrubs-te / dbyibs-kyi bye-brag-tu byas-ba de-dag ni gzugs-brñan źes gdags-te / ciḥi phyir że na / gżuṅ-dag-las chos-kyi sku ni sku-med nam-mkhaḥ ḥdra źes ḥbyuṅ-ste / med-pai ṅo-bo-ñid yin yaṅ chos thams-cad-kyi rgyu daṅ ḥbras-buḥi don-gyis mchod-rten-gyi dbyibs lta-bur sgrub-pas deṣ-na chos-kyi skur ni rgyu daṅ ḥbras-buḥi thams-cad yoṅs-su-rdzogs-pa de-la chos-kyi sku żes ḥdod-do / de-bas na hdi-ltar snaṅ-ba ni gzugs-brñan yin-par zhes-par byaho /*

As soon the Tantric schools started, the symbolism grown around these constructions could not be maintained intact, since it had moulded the architectonical and plastic scheme of the essential precepts of Buddhist praxis. It is, therefore, obvious to think that the interpretation of the caityas should have been modified according to the esoteric concepts of the new sects. Magic and mysterious elements superimpose themselves on to the simple ethical and monastic schemes of the Little Vehicle. The alliance with yoga and tantra and the indisputable connections with religious experiences of other countries make the symbolism even more complex and strange. We cannot say anything precisely, because we miss definite documents which could enlighten us with correct details. The difficulty is even more compounded by the esoteric character of the tantric literature which by this time became more intensive. On the other side texts of the Tantric schools remain for us still unexplored and virtually unintelligible. In fact, they willingly speak about rites and mystic experiences in terms intended only for the initiated and of which we do not always possess the key to decipher.

The terminology used by our Tibetan texts, however, allows us to follow the spurs of another symbolic interpretation given to the monuments of our interest. And this interpretation, as I could collect from direct information during my Tibetan trips, is largely accepted in the Lamaistic communities full of Tantric beliefs.

We have seen that the terminal portion of the stupa(mchod-rten) culminates with a triple ornament, resulting in three distinct parts, respectively called: moon, sun and pinnacle. Now, among the various texts consulted by us in order to reconstruct the meaning of the stupa(mchod-rten), the most ancient does not mention the sun and the pinnacle(1). Instead, the treatise of Śāntigarbha knows the triple division of the terminal section of the construction, but the disc between the moon and the pinnacle is called mirror *(me-loṅ = ādarsa)* and it is said to correspond to the six supernatural faculties *(abhijñā)*. The change in the denomination points towards a changed address in the symbolic interpretation, at least of this portion of the stupa(mchod-rten).

It is true that the denomination of sun could have been suggested, beside the circular form of this portion of the building, also by the moon immediately preceeding it; nevertheless it is a fact that in the Tantric schools, both Buddhist and Śaiva (they have so many common elements) the binomial *sūrya-candra* has a technical and precise value: it symbolises the complex process of the cosmic manifestation and of its reabsorption through mystic knowledge into Supreme Reality. The Tibetan term *zla-ñi* maintains the same symbolic value and the representation of the two is almost never missing in the religious paintings, appears among the ornaments of the temples and is used as a personal ornament (pl.XLIII, 68).

In this way, we are lead to admit that the terminal portion which culminates the stupa(mchod-rten); namely the sun, the moon and the pinnacle(2), presuppose the doctrines of the Tantric schools

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(1) This corresponds completely to archaeological data besides also to what we know about the architectonic terminology of the most ancient caityas. A fragment of such terminology is preserved in the Divyāvadāna. The primitive caitya ended in a sort of vase called *kalaśa*.

(2) It is worth noticing that the above-mentioned text of the vinaya mentions neither the sun nor the pinnacle, they seem therefore to be later additions. In order to explain the origin of the half-

They used sun, moon and fire *(agni)* with precise and determined meanings in their terminology and with this they wished to signify specific moments and aspects of the mystic experiences. Sun is cosmic activity, moon the object realized by the first, and therefore it has to be known, fire is the knowing subject. To the first corresponds the *piṅgalā* vein, to the other the *idā* vein, and to the third the *suṣumnā* or central vein. Through their control the yogin lets the bindu or creative element reach, passing through different mystical centres of our body, the *sahasrāra,* the lotus of thousand petals in the summit of the head. In other words this means that through the guidance and control of our conscient principle we can reach the unity with that pure intellect, the *tathāgata-garbha,* in us and in the whole, instead of being dragged in the whirl of births and deaths. Nevertheless, the *tathāgata-garbha* is darkened by that manifold imagining and badly addressed will and sin, never dissociated from individual life. Or, the sun symbolizes *prajñā* or mystic science and moon *karuṇā* or compassion, namely the two coefficients from which fire of supreme illumination *(bodhicitta)* springs.

Less clear is the Mahāyāna symbolism of the other parts of the stupa(mchod-rten).

The superimposition of the various parts of the stupa seems, nevertheless, to have been connected with the theory of the five elements to which great importance is given in the Vajrayāna schools and in the mystical maṇḍalas belonging to them. All this is resolved in the five primordial essences *(tattva)* and in the meditative process one has to follow them in their development and then walking backward on the path, to reabsorb them in oneself *(śuddhi)* and realize therefore the vacuity of *māyā,* namely of becoming and of cosmic contingency.

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moon figure coupled with the sun, leaving out any other later symbolism, one needs to remember the emblems of bull appearing often on ancient Buddhist elements. See Foucher, *The Beginnings*

The scheme of the stupa coincides actually with the superposition of the figures corresponding to the five elements in the mystic of Vajrayāna as it is represented, for example, in the *Tsuen shiṅ fo tiṅ siu yu k'ie fa kuei yi,* Taisho 973:19.368).

A bīja or mystical syllable corresponds to each element, and also a figure, a color and a mystical centre *(cakra)* in the human body:

earth	a	square	below the navel	yellow
water	vam	circle	on the navel	white
~~fire~~	ram	triangle	on the heart	red
wind	ham	half-moon	above eyelash	black
space	kham	half-circle	on the head	multicolour

And this gives us the following scheme represented in the same text (fig. 3):

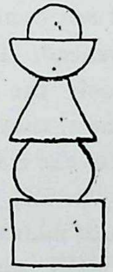

Fig. 3.

One may observe that the same correspondence about the colour to be given to the various parts of the stupa, can be noted between Tibetan sources and the above-reproduced scheme: the base is yellow as the mandala of earth, the pentola is white as the mandala of water, the inferior portion of the thirteen wheels forming the erection of the umbrellas is red as the maṇḍala of fire. Sun, moon and pinnacle are respectively red, white and yellow, and the superior figure of the Tantric scheme symbolizing space is also the synthesis of the colours of the other maṇḍalas. The correspondence is lacking only for the maṇḍala of wind, which should be black. One cannot solve the difficulty by considering it the equivalent of the "covering" under the moon, because this one, according to sources, should be blue.

The very number of caityas that have to be built is determined by symbolic motifs and connections. The Tanjur has preserved for us ritualistic treatises for the building of 108 stupas(mchod-rten) or of five stupas (mchod-rten)(1). In Western Tibet, near the most ancient centres such as Leh, Basgo, Alchi, Ñerma, Gya, there are even today long lines of small stupas(mchod-rten), all of the same dimensions and always numbering 108. Even more, they seem to be a characteristic that was never separated from those places, that tradition, archaeological data and epigraphic sources lead us to consider as the first centres of lamaistic spreading in the country. The number 108, as is well known, is a sacred number for the Tantric schools, both Buddhist as well as Śaiva. In fact, 108 are the beads in a rosary *(akṣamālā)*, the names of divinities have to be repeated 108 times, the japa or repetition of a mantra or mystic formula has its effects when it has been repeated 108 times. The origin of the symbolic value of this number is not yet clear. According to Przyluski(2) it should be connected with the solar triads and should be considered as derived from 99+9. The theory is possible, but not convincing and surely it is not the only one that could be advanced. It is not impossible that 108 should be instead 12 x 9, namely the multiplication of the 12 zodiacal signs, for the nine planets, that is to say the seven planets plus Ketu and Rāhu according to the tradition in India *(navagraha)*.

In any case, whatever the origin, the astrological connection of this number seems undeniable.

The number five is determined by those series of five characterizing Tantric speculation and even the Buddhist possibly it is to be put in connection with the cult of the Five Tathāgatas, the Five Supreme Buddhas, usually known by the improper name of Dhyāni-Buddhas, occupying a central place in the ritual of late Mahāyāna(3).

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(1) See Cordier 358 no.129 & 130, 359 no.136.

(2) *Un dieu iranien dans l'Inde,* Rocznik Orjentalistyczny 1930, p.2.

(3) According to the *Mchod-rten lṅa gdab-paḥi cho-ga,* Tanjur TU (Cordier 2.359 no.136) fol.79, the divinities invoked for the building of the five caityas are:

§ 9. *Diffusion of the various types of stupas(mchod-rten)* in *Indian and Eastern Tibet.* Of the eight types of caityas listed above the more common in Ladakh Rupshu Lahul Spiti and Western Tibet is the one of the "great illumination". This overpasses all others in crowding: it is found almost everywhere, it is of all dimensions and of every age (Pl. II, III). This, however, does not mean that the other types are not represented. A wonderful example of the *sgo-maṅ,* namely of the stupa(mchod-rten) "of many doors", is the enormous building in the village of Changs-pa near Leh (Pl. IV, fig. a). At Sheh there is a good model of the rnam-rgyal mchod-rten namely the caitya of the "Victorious One". The stupa of the "descent from Heaven" is also rather frequent, and almost always it is found near the most ancient monasteries in the region (Pl. IV, fig. b). Stupas of this pattern are around the little temple, today in ruins, between Basgo and Nimu, and they are found at Alchi Ñerma and Ugu (Arpa in the old maps), at Gya, Tabo and Toling (Totling), namely in all the places that an almost unanimous tradition (and we do not have any reason to consider it devoid of foundation) relates to the great work of Buddhist propaganda by the great translator Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (tenth century).

I do not think that the caitya of the descent from Heaven is found otherwise than in these ancient centres of Buddhist activity corresponding to the period which we may call that of the Bkah-dam-pa or of the sect founded by Atiśa which after the reformation of Tsoṅ-kha-pa would join the yellow sect. This fact allows for the monument to be one of the most interesting in the entire region. In fact, it is surely contemporary with the first great renewal of Lamaism. This one, under the influence of Atiśa and Marpa

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Gtsug-tor-dri-med = Vimaloṣṇiṣa
Ḥjam-paḥi-mgon = Manjunatha
Sā-kya-thub-pa = Śākyamuni
Spyan-ras-gzigs = Avalokitesvara
Phyag-na-rdo-rje = Vajrapāṇi

and of their immediate pupils, was on the way to get reformed, while Muslim invasions doubled the spiritual bondages between India and the Land of Snows. This one, together with Nepal, was generous in hospitality and peace for the refugee pandits. But, I think that Ladakh has surely known Buddhism much before than this religion was introduced in Tibet proper by that missionary movement normally connected with the name of Padmasambhava (VIII century). The rough sculptures in stone, representing Buddhist divinities, and not infrequent in Ladakh, in Baltistan, in Lahul, seem to me totally before the foundation of the Ladakhi dynasties. Between them and the rocky sculptures at Sheh there is a great difference. After all, the spreading of Buddhism, at least in Ladakh, even before that region was subject to Tibetan invaders and therefore of Lamaism, can be very well explained. Kashmir, which was always one of the greatest centres of Buddhist culture and propaganda, is at the doors of Ladakh. Since ancient times it should be, as it is now, in constant connection with this region. The ethnic background of Ladakh and that of Kashmir is not fundamentally different. Even if today the country is dominated by Lamaistic culture and religion, and even if the language spoken till the Zoji-la is Tibetan or are dialects deriving or forming parallel forms of the Tibetan language, there is no doubt that anthropologically the people have very little of characteristically Tibetan(1).

Neither can one forget that just in Khalatze, namely at three or four days distance from Leh, has been found the Kharosthi inscription of Vema Kadphises(2), showing that the culture and

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(1) As demonstrated on an anthropological basis by Dainelli, and this has been confirmed by names of places wherein characteristically Dardic elements still emerge frequently.

(2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum;* vol. II. In 1930 and 1931 I had intensified my researches near Khalatze in order to find the inscription again, but I could not trace it. Almost surely it has been broken during works for the construction of the bridge of Khalatze.

hegemony of India had already penetrated these countries since the time of the first Kushans. The very fact that the inscription was found together with others in Brāhmī, near the bridge over the Indus, lets us suppose that since the first centuries of our era an active commerce united, as today, Kashmir with the upper valley of the Indus. And Kashmir in those times was a great centre of Buddhist schools. Caravans, at that time as well as today, would bring into Kashmir the wools of Tibet and the way connecting India with Ladakh, through Zojila, has without any doubt a secular history. With the members of the caravans, religious ideas also spread. The monks and the missionaries united themselves with the merchants and the word of Buddha came, through more or less imperfect resonances, beyond the great barriers of the Himalayas.

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§ 10. *What is the meaning of tsha-tsha.* In many, although not in all stupas (mchod-rten), there is a small window, the same one referred to by our texts, that usually enables us to see a place either small or big, inside the building, where are collected, in variable quantity, the tsha-tsha, usually covered by a subtle stratum of white lead, perhaps to preserve them from easy destruction. These objects have been defined differently. Jäschke says of them: small images of Buddha and cone-shaped figures of earth and water (*Handwörterbuch der Tibetischen Sprache*, p. 452).

For Desgodins they are: "small images made of clay". For S. Chandra Das: "miniature conical figures moulded of clay and used as offerings placed in large numbers on the ledges of chortens". For Waddell they would be: "funeral images or caityas moulded of clay or dought with or without the addition of relics" (*Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 329, compare p. 497).

For Schlagintweit (*Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 206) tsha-tsha is a name "which is also given to the chorten-like cones moulded from think that these definitions are very exact. Tsha-tsha is a small image that can be in the form of a stupa (mchod-rten), but can also not be so. It can instead represent one of the Buddhist divinities or can simply contain one of the many formula that were believed to sum up the Buddhist doctrine. Normally it is made of earth and water mixed together, sometimes also with the addition of the ashes of famous Lamas. Not seldom is it also mixed with grains of barley or wheat for various reasons. Either because wheat or barley is used in the ceremony of consecration of the same tsha-tsha, or to pray for a good harvest or as a thanksgiving. In this last case it is a demonstration to future generations, which are more and more sunken in evil, destroyed by famines, cut by death, that in ancient times when men were not yet so perverted, gods favoured them with abundant and rich harvests.

That Tibetans have not invented the use of the tsha-tsha is demonstrated by the name itself. This one also in local lexicography, is made to derive from Sanskrit. Nevertheless, to be more precise, rather than from Sanskrit one has to think of forms from Prakrit, a Laufer saw rightly. He (1) suggests as possible prototype *sañcak* meaning mould; and actually just through moulds tsha-tsha hav always been modelled. Anyway, even keeping into account tha there are complex deviations in words subjected to passage from Sanskrit origin to a current Tibetan form, in this manner the loss o *ñ*, that usually is preserved as *ṁ*, and the presence of a double *c* can be explained imperfectly.

It seems to me, instead, that it more possible to reduce th Tibetan form to a Prakrit *sacchāya* or *sacchāha*, Skt. *sat-chāy* meaning originally perfect "image" or also "reproduction", namel image similar to another one, and therefore adjectivally "equal" Tibetan lexicons translate it, in fact, literally *dam-paḥi* (correspo ding always to *sat*) *gzugs-brñan* namely "perfect image", and thi

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(1) *Loan words in Tibetan*, no. 29

corresponds to: *braḥ bimb* "holy images" found in Thailand and illustrated by Coedes (1). All this is confirmed by the secondary Tibetan form *sā-tstsha, sāccha* registered also by S. Chandra Das s.v.

§ *11. Origin and meaning of tsha-tsha.* Their very name then points towards India as the country of origin of these tsha-tsha. This has its confirmation in the study of more ancient exemplars, described below, which not only have inscriptions in Sanskrit written in the characters of Northern India, but also have great affinities with the thanksgivings found in India, and especially at Bodhgaya. These and all similar ones distributed in other parts of Buddhist India, wherever there was a place of pilgrimage, should be considered as the prototypes of the Tibetan ones.

Foucher has elucidated the possible origin of these tsha-tsha. I would like to put them in relation not only with the usual Kapilavastu, Bodhgayā, Benares, Kuśīnagara, as he suggests but rather with all the eight most famous places of the Buddhist tradition. Later on these were consecrated by the eight fundamental types of stupas illustrated above, but normally since the time of the first forming of the various communities, they represented for the devotees as many stations and moments essential both to the life and the preaching of the Saint of the Śākyas. All the biographies of the Buddha, oral or written, could not leave out these eight blessed places, scenes of a miracle, a preaching, a memorable fact. And eight in fact are, as we are going to see later, often the stupas (mchod-rten) reproduced on the tsha-tsha.

Thus, some *tīrtha* or pilgrimage places were tacitly established. But he who goes to visit a locality consecrated by some legends, wants to bring back with him a souvenir, a kind of relic maintaining almost its material contact with the earth sanctified by the presence of the god and being able to kindle again the pious devotion of the first encounter. From this desire of pilgrims, disciplined by the monks and the guardians of the temples and of the sacred places, arose the use of these small images. These were, at the beginning perhaps, as suggested by Foucher, reproductions of monuments, built in the very localities or of the traditional symbols recalling to the minds of the faithful the legends connected with such places. Little by little, this use grew from Java till the extreme borders of India and other divinities of the Buddhist pantheon start joining Śākyamuni. Tibet, therefore, was dependent on India also in this case. It imported the use of tsha-tsha from the country towards which piety called to devoted pilgrimage its children recently converted to the faith. Those Tibetans, having all the ardour of neophytes and the awed reverence towards all that is sacred, and whose mystic souls, tormented by nature by sense of Divine, moved them towards it (the sacred), would come back to the Land of Snows with the souvenirs consecrated and collected in the very places visited during their pilgrimages. But, they started little by little to give an independent development to these clay images, brought previously with them from India, and started to make them in their own country.

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(1) *Études Asiatiques* I.145 and its bibliography. See also Id. *Bronzes Khmers*, pl L; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1932*, plate X, p. 25.

It is logical in fact to suppose that as soon as Buddhism entered the Land of Snows, there were formed more or less important religious centres around some hermitage or some temple having a special sacred character. And even there could start the moulding and distribution of tsha-tsha, both in case the moulds were made on the spot, or were at first rather imported from India.

Nevertheless, it would not be exact to believe that the character and the meaning of the tsha-tsha would be limited only to this. We have not, it is clear, to mix up the possible reasons of their origins with their later developments.

One cannot forget that, since Buddhism spread in Tibet when Mahāyāna and more appropriately the Tantric schools were flourishing, the tsha-tsha would also assume another character conformin

to the new religious and mysteriosophic ideas. Not only simple remembrance of a completed pilgrimage, but rather one of many acts of cult described and imposed on the faithful by complex ritual. One could mould tsha-tsha to impress on them the celebrated formula summing up the Buddhist doctrine, and then put them in the stupa (mchod-rten), as their 'heart' to use the traditional expression of the Mahāyāna masters. Those which were themselves in the form of caitya, were made as we have seen above in order to honor in them all the possible caityas of the earth. They were made either by those, not having sufficient means, could not build them in great dimensions, or by travellers as thanksgiving, or *ex voto*, or as modest homage to monuments and sacred places encountered on the road and for which they wanted to give them a tangible sign of their devotion.

§ 1·2. *Ceremonial for the preparation of the tsha-tsha.*

Mahāyana texts concerning the Mahāyāna and Tantric rituals have left us some details on the way to do such tsha-tsha, and although part of this literature is in Sanskrit, there is no mention of what it says about the objects of our interest.

I refer myself to a passage of the Ādikarmika-pradīpa, edited by De La Vallée Poussin (1) and to another of the Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātana by Advayavajra, published by Haraprasāda Śāstrī. Both the texts describe a rite called in both editions *sarvaka-taḍana-vidhi*, Tibetan translates it as *tsha-tsha gdab-paḥi cho-ga*. Now, it is clear that tsha-tsha does not correspond to *sarvaka*, which would have no meaning, but to *sacchaka*. I do not think that to *taḍana* could be attributed the usual meaning of "hitting, beating", although a ceremony called by the same root used with the same meaning, is known to Tantric ritual. It is rather better to give it the meaning of "modelling, imprinting". To this the Tibetan *ḥdebs* corresponds perfectly. This means in fact also to plant, to fix, etc. and it is used with a similar significance in the sentence *rgya ḥdebs* "to seal, to plant a seal". The various moments that the ritual concerning the modelling and moulding of such tsha-tsha are described in both our quoted sources. They can be summed up in the following, each accompanied by an appropriate formula:

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(1) *Bouddhisme, Etudes et matériaux*, p. 177-232.

(2) Rgyud hgrel MI fol. 103a (Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātana).

1. Taking of the clay with which to do the tsha-tsha *(mṛttikā-grahaṇa).* Formula: homage to all the Buddhas; *oṁ vajrāyuṣe(1)* (of a life of diamond) *svāhā.*

2. Forging the clay *(bimba-balana, ḥbi-ḥbiḥi bya-ba).* Formula: *oṁ vajrodbhavāya* (to the originated from diamond) *svāhā.*

3. To smear with oil the clay so forged *(taila-mrakṣaṇa),* evidently to ease and make clearer the impression that would be made with the mould in the following moment, and to allow the printing form to separate itself easily. Formula: *oṁ araja, viraja, svāhā.*

4. Applying the moulding *(mudrā-kṣepaṇa).* Formula: *om dharmadhātu-garbhe* (embryo of the absolute) *svāhā.*

5. *ākoṭana,* expression rather obscure that Tibetan language translates again with *gdab.* I do not believe that the expression would mean throwing away those pieces of clay that are coming out from the printing form on the border lines of the tsha-tsha and that it was necessary to eliminate in order to give to the border a more or less regular edge. The Tibetan *gdab (ḥdebs)* suggests the meaning of "impression", namely the stamping form is violently impressed on the clay. And in this interpretation I am supported by the usage of the magic syllables *hūṁ phaṭ* occurring for the *ākoṭana-mantra* in the Ādikarmika-pradīpa, etc. ... Formula: *oṁ vajra-mudgara ākoṭaya* (diamond club, beat) *svāhā*(2).

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(1) Thus Tibetan is better than the editions: *vajrapuṣpe. Vajrāyuṣe* is in the mantra of Amitābha.

(2) Thus more correctly Tibetan.

6. *Ākarṣaṇa*(1). The deities represented in the image (or to whom there is reference in the formula impressed) are compelled to descend into the very object, according to one of the fundamental concepts of Indian ritual, according to which the consecration of an object implies the presence in it of the Divinity and of his/her *numen.* Formula: *oṁ dharmarate(2) svāhā.*

7. *Sthāpana* (Tibetan: *bzhugs-su gsol*) to seat the Divinity called in the previous manner in the tsha-tsha. Formula: *oṁ supratisthitavajre svāhā*(3).

8. Definitive consecration *(pratiṣṭhā, rab-tu-gnas).* Formula: *om sarva-tathāgata-maṇi-śata-dīpte jvala jvala dharmadhātu-garbhe.*

9. *Visarjana.* Having consecrated the object, the invoked Divinity who was called to descend in order to give it the sanctity of his/her contact and his/her presence, is again dismissed and let him/her to return to his/her proper place. Formula: *oṁ svabhava visuddhe*(4) *āhara āhara āgaccha āgaccha dharmadhātu-garbhe svāha.*

10. *Kṣamāpana.* The Divinity is begged to be patient if it has been forced to descend with the power of the mantra, and not to consider the possible omissions in the ceremony. Formula: *oṁ ākāśadhātu-garbhe svāhā.*

The same ritual, although with changed formulas, is described also somewhere else in the vast ritualistic literature of Mahāyāna. But the implicit moments in the pattern of the tsha-tsha are more or less the same. Thus for instance in No.153 vol. NU they are:

1. *Sa brgo-ba* = to dig the earth in order to take an handful of it.

2. *Sa blaṅ-pa* = to take the handful of earth.

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(1) Less exactly the Ādikarmika-pradīpa; *niḥsarana-mantra.*

(2) But Tibetan *dharmāyuṣe.*

(3) Edition *apratisthita-vajre.* Tibetan *vajra-supratiṣṭhita-vajraye.*

(4) Edition *svabhāva-suddhe.*

3. *Chu spyad* = use of water to prepare the kneading.
4. *Sa dag-par-bya-ba* = purification of earth.
5. *bsres-nas rdzi-ba* = mixing and kneading.
6. *brduṅ* = beating the kneading so obtained.
7. *ḥbi-ḥbiḥi bya-ba* = forming the rounding pattern.
8. *til byug-pa* = smearing with oil.
9. *rgya bgags-pa* = to impress the stamp . . . and so on as in the other text(1).

§ 13. *Various types of tsha-tsha and their chronological order.* In manufacturing tsha-tsha there was a long evolution and this is demonstrated by the study of the models collected by me. Their approximate age can be determined, with a better or lesser exactitude, on the basis of the palaeographic data given by the inscriptions accompanying them.

We can, in fact, distinguish a gradual refinement of the types, that slowly are passing from the roundish shapes to that of a seal impressed on a mass of humid earth roughly kneaded (they also have a thick and irregular border caused by violent compression of the stamp), to end with refined models where there is not only more refinement and symmetry, but the rough border disappears to give place to an exactly cut edge. All this lets us presuppose also a diversity in the process. In more ancient times the stamp was a sygill, later on it had a shape so that they could contain and cut on the kneading of earth the entire figure of the tsha-tsha. Another diversity, implying difference of age, is the fact that, while in earlier times the images of deities are relatively rare, they become more and more frequent and their numerical increase goes parallel to their better refinement. Tsha-tsha with inscriptions alone or with the reproduction of just a stupa(mchod-rten) are, instead more rare. In the tsha-tsha which, for the above-mentioned reasons and for their

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(1) See again, although the rite is in some places different from the one described, the Tsao t'a yen miṅ kuṅ tö kiṅ, Taisho 1026: 19.726, describing the building of tsha-tsha in the form of caityas.

palaeographic data have to be considered more ancient, in place of divinities, we find almost always the representation of one or more stupas, together with traditional formulas as for instance the Buddhist credo. This would lead us to suppose that these tsha-tsha, mostly of Indian origin and inspiration as we have seen, were actually *ex voto* distributed to pilgrims as souvenirs of the visit performed in places connected with some Buddhist traditions, both in India and in Tibet, or they were made in order to remember some special monuments appearing as specially sacred or famous to the Tibetan devotees. For this reason we can suppose that the stupa (mchod-rten) reproduced on the tsha-tsha of this type, intended to reproduce peculiar monuments actually existing in India and in Tibet. This supposition seems to find confirmation in the fact that many stupas (mchod-rten) are of the same type and seem to refer themselves to the same building. See the ones reproduced on tsha-tsha nos 13 and 16 and also the stupa of the "descent from heaven" that we have seen strictly connected with the great Buddhist centres created or developed under the spur of the apostolic activity of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. They would have been considered as places particularly sacred since their very foundation. In fact, it was in these places that the great Lotsava passed his own life. Lotsava translated one of the most celebrated texts of Buddhism, the Prajnaparamitā, which in the Tantric and mystic schools of Mahāyāna acquired a central place in cult and in mystic theories.

Toling, is even today one of the pilgrimage places more celebrated in Western Tibet and so would have been in ancient times the convent of Ñerma, near Leh, today a great ruin, in the same manner was, till shortly ago, the temple of Alchi called in fact the Temple of the Lotsava (1).

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(1) As it can be assumed from the biography, for example, of Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma, the founder of the monastery of Rirzong.

The type of tsha-tsha in the form of a stupa (mchod-rten), although having remote origins as demonstrated by literary sources already often quoted, seems to have become rather common only in periods relatively modern. In fact, the tsha-tsha in the shape of a stupa (mchod-rten) collected by me are surely late, and today, at least in the provinces that I had passed through, are the most frequent, both, because easier to be made, and because many of the ancient stamps have gone out of use, or perhaps have been lost, and have not been renewed.

To sum it up: varied is the origin of the tsha-tsha. They could have been imported from India and maintained as precious relics, or they could have been distributed in Tibet itself *ex voto* to pilgrims gone to visit celebrated sanctuaries. They could also have been kneaded with the ashes of lamas celebrated for their sanctity, and put as *śarīra* or relics in the stupa (mchod-rten). They could also have been roughly and quickly kneaded as prayers or as granting of vows by passers-by near a sacred place. It has also to be remembered that some are stamped in order to make a meritorious work to benefit oneself or for one's descendants. In the last case, they are not dissociated from the building of the votive stupa (mchod-rten) mentioned above, because he who builds these must also think of something to put into them. Inscriptions sometimes refer to tsha-tsha employed in such a way.

§ 14. *Iconographic types represented on the tsha-tsha.* As I have mentioned above, little by little they become perfected and are covered with figures of gods made according to rules dictated in iconographic treatises. Actually, between the types reproduced on them and those seen reproduced on the than-kas or in the statues, there is no difference but of proportions. Tibetan art, both in the stuccos and in the paintings and sculpting, follows uniform schemes, as dictated in India in ritualistic literature. It prescribes the manner to realize and to live again the mystic experiences connected with the various divinities or symbolized

by them. It points out with precision of detail how they together with their retinue (*parivāra*), with their symbols and attributes, should be represented in the maṇḍalas or on painted cloth (*paṭa*) used with the same goal in Tāntric mysteries. Later on there follow iconographic treatises as such, more technical than religious, more properly directed to the artists. These treatises, although maintaining the same scrupulousness and the same precision of schemes, leave the artist free to frame the figure, obtained according to proportions, on the background that he likes. There is, here, therefore, an art which is fixed with regard to the types of the divinities and of the human figure in general, with his symbols and attributes, but which is left to the arbitrariness of the artist and of his creative genius with regard to the frame and the background in which such figures are moving.

To these very principles the unknown manufacturers who have shaped the stamps used for our tsha-tsha were inspired. Therefore, if sometimes the identification of the divinity represented on them remains doubtful, this happens not so much due to the unskillfulness or arbitrariness of the artist, but rather to the fact that the many and complex iconographic types of the Mahāyāna pantheon are not yet properly know to us.

The tsha-tsha, together with the formulas impressed on them and with the figures lined in front of us, confirm totally what the study of temples and religious traditions and the very epigraphic data let us know about the fortune and spreading of the various schools and Lamaistic sects and about the groups of divinities more popular in Western Tibet.

The most ancient tsha-tsha with figures of stupas (mchod-rten) and the most common formula: "The Tathāgata, the great veracious ascetic......" do not enlighten us on the divine cycles having the greatest vogue at that time. They only mean the veneration attributed in the Tibetan provinces to the sacred countries and for the monuments connected in some manner with the memories of Śākyamuni or in general for the Law preached by Him as symbolized in the caitya. On the contrary, on the tsha-tsha impressed with figures we see, as it were, reflected the fortune of the Mahāyāna pantheon. We have a single exemplar of Vairocana in Gya, namely in one of the most ancient centres. And yet we know that the cult of Vairocana was specially spread in the sect of Bkaḥ-dam-pa, called also the renewed mantra (*sṅags sar-ma*). Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po belonged to this sect, whose origins are usually connected with Atiśa. And in fact, in all the temples that tradition attributes to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, as those of Alchi and Tabo and Lha-luṅ in Spiti, the maṇḍala and the figure of Vairocana (Rnam-par-snaṅ-mzad) have preponderance (1). In these temples are maintained mural paintings surely ancient. And yet, neither in this school, nor in any other Tibetan one, to my knowledge, this Divinity has ever enjoyed the same prestige that he did in China in the sect of Vajrayana, propagated by Amoghavajra.

Among the other Supreme Buddhas, Pañca-tathāgata, improperly called Dhyāni-buddha, the most frequent are those who have even today the greatest cult in Tibet, namely Amitābha and Akṣobhya. Ratnasambhava appears only once, and Amoghasiddhi never. The same thing is confirmed by the study of mural paintings existing in the temples visited by me, or by the invocations recurring in the inscriptions. The last two Buddhas usually are never represented isolated, but they are included among the others when the complete maṇḍala of the Five Tathāgatas is reproduced. Śākyamuni is usually represented in the form called Vajrāsana, i.e. in the position in which he was seated under the tree of illumination at Bodhgayā. It is the type reappearing, for instance in no. 63, was possibly introduced from the same Bodhgayā, one of the places that from centuries till today is the goal of constant and regular pilgrimages (*ṅe-ḥkhor*) of the Tibetan faithful. It is not impossible that this continued contact, maintained by pilgrims between Tibet and Bodhgayā, has helped the great diffusion of this type of Śākyamuni in preference to other types.

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(1) See A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. 1.

Maitreya is also frequent, and this is natural since he is the Buddhist Divinity in whom the messianic beliefs and the faith in a new rebirth of the Law are summed up and merge. When evil and sin will overflow and every hope will seem lost, then it is Maitreya, as the Sōśāns of the Zoroastrians, who will restore Goodness. Many temples are dedicated to him in Ladakh, beginning with the one on the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo, at the back of Leh, and built by king Grags-ḥbum-lde (around the first half of the XV century), continuing with the one of Basgo. His image, also, more or less roughly sculpted on the rocks and on big masses of stones, is often found from Ladakh to Lahul. Frequently also appears the image of Mañjuśrī Arapacana, whose mantra is often engraved on cliffs and rocks.

Very common is the figure of Avalokiteśvara. This is quite natural in a country which has elected this god as its patron, and which believes that he continues to preside over its destiny in the body of the Dalai Lama. The prevailing form is that of Avalokiteśvara with four arms, namely the central god (*gtso-bo*) of the ṣaḍakṣarī-maṇḍala. Not less seldom are the figures of Tārā, who, in her many aspects, is one of the most frequent subjects of Tibetan iconography. Together with Avalokiteśvara she is the divinity more attentive to human welfare, and the easier to come to help her devotees. Saṁvara (Bde-mchog), presiding over a well-determined Tantric cycle, is not lacking in our tsha-tsha. His cult was always wide-spread in the mystic schools of Tibet and occupies a remarkable place also in the religious experiences of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa and of the Bkah-dam-pa.

Instead, I could not find any trace in the tsha-tsha of the other divinity who, in the ritualistic and mystic of the yellow sect of the Dge-legs-pa, occupies a very remarkable place, I mean Kālacakra, the "Wheel of Time". It is also strange that the figure of Vajradhara is missing, the ādiguru or revelator of the sect of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, namely of that school which has exerted a great influence on the religious development of the Tibetan provinces and Ladakh through its sub-sects Ḥbri-gun-pa (Lamayuru monas-

Of masters and doctors we find both Padmasambhava and Tsoṅ-kha-pa represented. The first is the thaumaturge who introduced Buddhism in Tibet and is the recognized chief of the sect of the Rñiṅ-ma-pa or the ancients. The other is the reformer of the Tibetan church. Although both sects have always been rivals and the antagonism is not over even today, Padmasambhava, usually called simply Guru rin-po-che (gem of masters), is considered as one of the central figures of Lamaism by both sects. The dominant church of nowadays has worked over again the legend, taking away many elements tenaciously preserved by his more strict followers. Nevertheless, his cult has penetrated a bit everywhere, and his images are to be found almost in every temple and in every chapel. But the church connected directly with him is no longer prospering in Western Tibet. This school, ignoring the more recent developments of Tibetan Buddhism, has transmitted with greater purity the teaching, the legends, the cults and exorcisms attributed to Padmasambhava by tradition. In Ladakh, the only monastery known to me is the one called Brag-stag, about six or seven miles from Chimbre, and in the high valley of the Sutlej the one of Pangi, and in Spiti the ones of Li and Nako.

But, even if the school of the Rñiṅ-ma-pa is scarcely represented, the cult of Padmasambhava, both public and private, is rather spread. Although he is no longer the central figure, he remains always one of the preeminent divinities in the Lamaistic pantheon. This is proved by the numerous images of the Guru rin-po-che, engraved on stone and put on the small walls covered with mani, and on the images adorning every temple.

The yellow sect, instead, has a noticeable predominance in Western Tibet. Therefore, many of the temples founded by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, or by his disciples, and therefore originally Bkaḥ-dam-pa, actually have passed to the new sect. This one was

introduced in Ladakh during the reign of Grags-ḥbum-lde (first half of XV century), remembered by the chronicles as the founder of renowned temples, such as Rnam-rgyal-tse-mo, Spitok, etc.

It is rather strange that, except for no.64, probably representing one of the first two gurus of the sect of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, Tilopa or Naropa, the images of masters of this school are missing. This school, in fact, has had great diffusion in Ladakh and in Indian Tibet, and there it possesses monasteries of great fame, with their own abbot *(skushok)*, as Lamayuru, Hemis, Karzok, Tashisgang, etc. Nevertheless, it is clear that no conclusion can be drawn by this absence, because, although the collection of tsha-tsha brought or remembered by me is noticeable also by the number of exemplars, yet it cannot be said that it contains all the possible types. Others could be found in further researches.

A special mention has to be made for no. 67 representing a Bonpo divinity. This cannot be determined precisely because our knowledge of Bon, the local religion of Tibet and rival to Buddhism, is just at the beginning. Therefore, its pantheon is almost completely unknown to us, although for variety it should not have anything to envy the Mahayanic. The very iconographic type demonstrates that our tsha-tsha goes back to a period of Bon relatively recent, when in order to pair the battle with spreading Buddhism it borrowed from the latter theories, concepts and modes of expression. For the rest, it does not seem, as said by Francke, that the Bonpo sect ever had great importance in Indian Tibet. There is no trace of temples of Bon here. I do not think, in fact, as definite the proofs advanced for considering as such a ruined shrine in Lamayuru(1). The central figure frescoed on the still preserved wall can be rather of a Kashmiri pandit than of a Bonpo priest. Nothing specifically Bonpo can be found either in the still remaining frescoes. The blue colour with which Buddha is represented may very well point to

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(1) *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* 1.97.

Akṣobhya, who according to iconographic rules, has to be blue; the same can be said for all the small figures around it, which can be reconnected with a specifically Buddhist subject, namely, the Thousand Buddhas *(saṅs-rgyas stoṅ-pa)* as they are represented at Alchi, Tikse and in many domes of the stupa(mchod-rten) of the door's type that appear here and there on the roads. The figures painted on the roof represent divine female musicians and dancers, sometimes with many arms, and there is no reason not to identify them with ḍākinīs *(mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma)* or heavenly fairies (Pl. V, VI). They do not have any peculiar character that could force us to define them as non-Buddhist. We are faced, of course, by a primitive and local art which, by the way, is not isolated. This art finds its parallel in the Lamayuru itself in the little temple called Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ. This temple is entirely covered with frescoes, nowadays greatly damaged by the water falling from the roof, which have to be undoubtedly assigned to the period of the Bkaḥ-dam-pa.

The very name of the monastery of Lamayuru according to me is not a proof substantiating the Bonpo hypothesis. Since it is called G.yuṅ-druṅ dgon-pa "monastery of svastikā", Francke wanted to see in this support of the Bonpo hypothesis.

The tradition defended by the *māhātmya* of the monastery according to which it was founded by the great Kashmiri siddha Naropa, has not better value than that of pointing out the great antiquity of the little temple Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ, and of glorifying its origins. It would have been rather strange, in fact, that, considering the vivid hostility demonstrated by the Buddhist centres towards the Bonpo communities, the apostles of the Ḥbri-guṅ-pa, while building up the monastery, would have named it after a name taken from their rival religion. Although the Bonpo attributed to the name *svastikā* meanings and values unknown to Buddhist schools, this name is not unknown to the latter. And in the present case, it is not impossible that *g.yuṅ-druṅ* could be an adaptation to well-known forms of the written language, of local names which have lost their meaning. It seems to me very possible that this name is to

be considered as the learned form of yu-ru. It is the original name of the village and can be connected with the names of localities in *ru* so frequent in the toponomastics of Indian Tibet: Miru, Suru, Taru, Kharu, etc.

The name Yu-ru is also testified by inscriptions as the name of a village. Thus, on a small wall covered by the usual prayers which is not far from the monastery, the beginning of a lapis (engraved stone) is as follows:

1. *oṁ sva-sti dkon-mchog-gsum phyag-ḥtshal-lo*
2. *Bla-mahi gdan-sa dgon-pa yu.ru hdir*

that is to say: "oṁ; be good; honour to the three gems; here in Yuru in the monastery which is the seat of the lama". In any case, as I shall demonstrate in another work dedicated to the Bonpo, it cannot be said that in Western Tibet they had a great diffusion as an independent sect. Moreover, no proof can be adduced of the existence of temples and monasteries surely Bonpo. But, if by Bon we intend the aboriginal religion prior to the spread of Indian Buddhism or of Lamaism in these regions; or if we consider as Bon the cults and beliefs resisting Buddhism in some islets of culture that the new doctrines could not submerge; or even we intend as such the survivals of ancient myths which, in the religious experience of Tibetans, are often associated with those later imported from India with Buddhism; then we cannot deny that Bon is subsisting even today. When, on the hilly passes, there is the great bulk of a *lha-tho,* when near a village the house of a *Sa-bdag* or "spirit of the soil" is pointed out, or they speak of a *klu* or serpent presiding over a source, a well, then it occurs to us that these are local beliefs and local demons belonging to very remote ages that Buddhism has absorbed in itself because it could not eliminate them. But, to the person who could properly read in that vast and various complex that Lamaism is, there will be no difficulty in recognizing these elements as totally strange to Buddhism. In the Indus valley there are still villages, as that of Da, where many beliefs of this type survive till today, almost un-contaminated by Buddhism.

If by Bon we intend the religion which was systematised in an organic manner by Gsen-rab and that had its literature, its liturgy, its temples and its priests, I strongly doubt that in this case one could even speak of Bon. Nevertheless, if by Bon we intend the infinite mass of gods, demons, and beliefs which have received citizens' rights in the system of Gsen-rab, then there is no doubt that there are even today many traces of it in Ladakh and in Western Tibet, which was the fatherland of Gsen-rab, the systematizer of the autochthon religion.

SECOND PART

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF TSHA-TSHA

Collected in Ladakh, Spiti, Kunuvar, Guge

The geographical names are reproduced according to the spellings adopted in the maps of the Geographical Survey of India, and therefore in: *Routes in the Western-Himalaya, Kashmir, etc.* by Major K. Mason (Dehra Dun 1922). All the tsha-tsha and the illustrated objects in the plates belong to my collection and are reproduced in their original size.

I

GROUP OF SIGILLARY IMPRESSIONS

(a) *impressed with figure(s) of a stupa (mchod-rten).*

No. 1. LEH. In the centre the figure of a stupa (mchod-rten) of the type called great illumination. Above the elevation of the "umbrellas" there flap two standards (*patākā*): around it there is, in late Gupta script, the Buddhist formula, not always clearly readable: *Ye dharmā hetuprabhava hetuṁ teṣam tathagato / hy avadat teṣāṁ ca yo nirodha evaṁ vadi mahāśramaṇaḥ.*

No. 2, 2 bis. LEH, SHUSHOT (Pl. VIIa). In the centre the figure of a stupa (mchod-rten) of the type called "descent from heaven". On the pentola it seems that a niche is open, although the state of preservation of the tsha-tsha in this place would not allow a clear decision. Around it, in a script belonging to the IX-X century, the same formula: *ye dharma ...*

No. 3. LEH (Pl. VIIb). Eleven stupas (mchod-rten). Out of them only the central one has the elevation of the umbrellas and is adorned with the usual standards. The number of eleven has to be related to the above-mentioned tradition of eleven stupas which, as we have seen, is not unknown even to Chinese sources. Below the usual formula: *ye dharmā* in a script of the IX-X century.

No. 4. TIKSE. Three stupas (mchod-rten). They are of the type termed "descent from heaven", but the pentola is striped by concentric stripes in circular steps forming a base. Above, the usual festoons. The stupas (mchod-rten) are on lotus leaves.

Below, in archaic Tibetan script: *ye dharmā* etc. The syllables are divided by the usual dots in Tibetan script (*hy avadan, vāṭī* in place of *vadī*).

No. 5 TIKSE (Pl. VIIIa). Three stupas(mchod-rten). Out of them the central one is bigger and has an elevation of umbrellas, while the other two end with the pentola. Out of it there is a pole (*srog śiṅ*, the wooden soul). But all three of them seem to be of the type of the descent from heaven, since even in the smaller ones there are clear traces of the stairs cutting the steps. All of them are on lotus flowers.

To the right, the usual formula in Tibetan script, but with many spelling mistakes: *ye tā rmā he tu/ pra bā'ta ba hen teśa/ n ta tha ga to hya va dad/ te śen ca yo ni ro/ dha em va va ti/ maha śra ma ṇa;* on the left: *oṁ ā yad tā sarva/ ta thā ga taṁ hri da ya ga rbhe/ jva la dharma dhā tu ga rbhe/ sa ndha ra à yu/ n san ṡo dha ya/ pā pa ma sarva ta thā ga/ ta sa man to n śi sa (samantoṣṇīṣa)/ vi ma li/* the formula ends with: *vi śu dhe sva hā*, which is read on the right of the stupa(mchod-rten) after the Mahāyāna formula. These words contain the hṛdaya or essence of the mystic science (vidyā) connected with the Tantric cycle of Vimaloṣṇīṣa. They are usually repeated in the consecration ceremony of the stupas, according to the ritual belonging to the cycle of the same deity. The exact formula is quoted, for instance, in the Tanjur, rgyud ḥgrel, vol. TU (Cordier 2.358 no.130) fol. 68: *oṁ āyatta sarvatathāgata/ hṛdayagarbhe/ jvala jvala/ dharmadhātugarbhe/ saṁhāra āyuḥ/ saṁśodhaya sarvapāpaṁ/ sarva tathāgata/ uṣṇīṣa vimala visuddha/ huṁ huṁ huṁ huṁ oṁ baṁ saṁ jaḥ svāhā/*

Nos. 6-7. LEH, SHUSHOT (Pl. VIIIb). A stupa(mchod-rten) is placed on a lotus flower. The stupa(mchod-rten) is the one called descent from heaven, with the usual standards flapping, ring, sun and moon. Around, in North Indian characters, possibly of the X century, there is the same formula that we have found in the preceeding tsha-tsha, followed by the same formula *ye dharma* etc.

No. 8. STOK. Idem. Smaller dimensions, same inscription in the same script of the latter two.

No. 9. STOK (Pl. IX). On a lotus flower there is a stupa (mchod-rten) of the type called descent from heaven. The figure of the stupa is included in a triangular frame. Above, in the North Indian script possibly of the X—XI century: *ye (dha)rmā* only.

No. 10. GYA. In the middle a stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called the great illumination. The lotus flower, on which the elevation of the umbrellas reposes, is out of proportion to other parts of the monument. On both sides there are two small stupas (mchod-rten) without umbrellas. Around it and in a Northern Indian script belonging to the IX—X century, the formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 11. LEH. On a lotus flower there is a stupa(mchod-rten) that seems to be of the type called descent from heaven, or rather of reconciliation. It has the usual flapping standards. Around it, in Indian script rather rough, the usual formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 12. MIRU. Seven stupas(mchod-rten) of the type called great illumination, with flapping standards. Below, inscription in Indian characters possibly of the X—XI century, having the formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 13. GYA (Pl. X). Big stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called *sgo maṅ* or of many doors. On the two sides, below, *phur-bu* or magic poniards. Above, to the right, a small flag. To the left, a drawing which I cannot specify as to what it may represent: perhaps another standard. Around it, in an Indian script of the IX—X century, the formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 14. STOK. Stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called descent from heaven, on a lotus. Around it, in Indian script possibly of the same period, the formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 15. ÑERMA. In the centre the figure of a stupa(mchod-rten) perhaps of the type called reconciliation. On two sides, leaning on two lotus flowers, there are two figures smaller than the stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called the great illumination. The free space is entirely covered by the usual inscription in an Indian script of the IX–X century.

No. 16. TIKSE (Pl. XIa). In the middle a big stupa of the type called *sgo-maṅ,* identical to the one appearing on no.13. Around it there is a very corroded inscription in an Indian script of the X–XI century. Below, the usual formula: *ye dharmā.* Above, the same formula appearing in no.5.

No. 17. MIRU. There are three stupas(mchod-rten) of the type called the great illumination. But the state of preservation of the tsha-tsha does not allow us to be certain about the type of the central stupa. This one could also be with steps cut by stairs, as in the stupa(mchod-rten) of the descent from heaven. On the ring the usual flapping festoons are bound, and there are little bells. There is the usual formula in Tibetan script, quickly and irregularly traced.

No. 18. STOK. In the middle three stupas(mchod-rten), possibly of the type called descent from heaven. Around it the same formula in an Indian script perhaps of the IX–X century.

No. 19. PANGI. In the middle, the figure of a stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called the great illumination. Around it in Indian script, possibly of the X century, the formula: *ye dharma* etc.

No. 20. ÑERMA (Pl. XIb). Around a stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called the descent from heaven, there is the same formula: *ye dharmā,* etc., in Tibetan script.

No. 21. MIRU. A stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called the descent from heaven, surrounded by nine of smaller size. Perhaps, they mean the ten stupas built on the relics of Buddha, which as we have seen above, a tradition maintained in the Chinese sources points to. Around in Tibetan script: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 22. ÑERMA (Pl. XIIa). Below, the figure of a stupa (mchod-rten) of the type called the descent from heaven. Above and around the usual *ye dharmā,* in characters belonging perhaps to the X–XI century.

Nos. 23-26. ÑERMA (Pl. XIb). The Buddhist credo in Tibetan script *(evaṁ vāṭī).*

No. 27. ÑERMA. The same formula occurring in no. 5 in Tibetan script.

No. 28. MIRU (Pl. XIIc). A stupa(mchod-rten) of the type of the great illumination, resting on a double throne. Around in running Tibetan script, mantras or dhāraṇīs. To the right: *dsva la ṭa. ./ sa. ha ra na ma?/ ya ma ma/ ta ṣṇī śa/ hūm oṁ rva-śam/ mune muneya/;* below: *om a hūṁ/* to the left: *dsva . . :/ .rbha/ oṁ śaṁ/ sa . . ta dha/ . . hum hum/* possibly the formula reported in no. 5..

No. 29. ÑERMA. Fragment of three stupas (mchod-rten) on throne. All are of the type called the great illumination. On two sides of the pentola of the central stupa the syllables *dri tra;* below: *oṁ ma ṇi pa dme [hūṁ],* namely, the *ṣaḍakṣara-mantra.*

Nos. 30-31. LEH. A stupa(mchod-rten) in the centre of the type called the great illumination. Around, other eleven stupas (mchod-rten) of smaller dimensions and without the elevation of umbrellas. Perhaps there is an allusion to the eleven stupas(mchod-rten) in Chinese sources, and in the Vaiḍūrya g.yaḥ-sel mentioned above. Below, in Indian characters possibly of the VIII-IX century, a very corroded inscription containing the usual credo: *ye dharmā.*

No. 32. STOK. A stupa(mchod-rten) of the type descent from heaven. Around and in the middle the same formula in Indian characters of the XI century.

No. 33. STOK (Pl. XIIIa). In the middle a stupa(mchod-rten) of the descent from heaven. On the two sides two small figures of stupas (mchod-rten) of the type called the great illumination. In free space: *ye dharmā,* in rough Indian characters of the X-XI century.

No. 34. GYA. Three stupas(mchod-rten). The central one, of bigger proportions is of the type called the descent from heaven. The other two are without elevation of the umbrellas. Around and over the entire free space there is the usual inscription in Tibetan script.

No. 35. STOK. In the middle a stupa(mchod-rten) of the type of the great illumination, surrounded by four smaller caityas. In the free space there is the usual *ye dharmā* etc., in Indian script very roughly written, possibly of the IX-X century.

No. 36. STOK. In the centre a stupa(mchod-rten) of the type called the descent from heaven. On four sides other stupas(mchod-rten) of smaller dimensions. Below: traces of the usual formula *ye dharmā.*

No. 37. SHUSHOT (Pl. XIIIb). On the bases formed by a lotus flower (padmāsana) there is a stupa(mchod-rten) in which the round steps are formed by a series of lotus leaves. It seems therefore that the type here represented is the one called "of the heaped lotuses". Around it, in a North Indian script possibly belonging to ~~the XI~~ century, the credo *ye dharmā,* can be read.

Nos. 38-39. SHUSHOT. On a lotus flower there is a stupa (mchod-rten) of the type called the descent from heaven. On both sides, two very small stupas(mchod-rten), without the elevation of umbrellas. This detail lets them be recognized as belonging to the type called nirvāṇa. Around and on both sides there is the usual formula *ye dharmā,* in a Northern Indian script, perhaps of the X-XI century.

Nos. 40-41. SHUSHOT (Pl. XIV). Above, resting on three lotus flowers, there are three stupas(mchod-rten) of the type called the great illumination. Of them, the middle one is of larger proportions. Between the intervals, and on the upper portion there are two other small stupas(mchod-rten) of the same type. Below is the inscription *ye dharmā* in Tibetan script, *he vaṁ vātī* before *mahāśramaṇaḥ,* as a later insertion, *sa kya ta.*

No. 42. MIRU. Two stupas(mchod-rten) of the type of the great illumination on a lotus flower and adorned by the usual festoons. There is no inscription.

No. 43. NAMGYAL. A stupa(mchod-rten) where the pentola is on a triple hexagonal step. There is no inscription.

No 44. STOK. In concentric circles around a central stupa (mchod-rten), there are represented 56 small figures of stupas (mchod-rten). And precisely, 29 on the first round, 18 on the second, 8 on the third, and 1 in the centre. All the stupas(mchod-rten) seem to belong to the same type. But, three of them, in inverted order and slightly smaller than the others, seem to have been added at a later date. It seems that the one who modelled the stamp for the tsha-tsha would have absolutely reached the number 56, multiple of 8. Beginning from the centre there is, in Indian script inserted among the various stupas(mchod-rten), the usual *ye dharmā.* To this is added a formula little readable: *sa da na ma sa sga (?) ta....*

(b) *With figures of divinities.*

These are nos. 45, 63, 83, 84, 98, 99 which, for convenience of treatment, I have grouped together in the following section, under the types referring to various divinities represented.

II

GROUP OF THE STAMPED

(a) Simple divinities

No. 45. RUMTSE (near Gya) (Pl. XV). Vairocana (Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad) and Śakyamuni (Vajrāsana). On two lotus flowers, whose stems seem to almost emerge from water, there are seated in the position called vajraparyaṅka(1) the figures of two deities, with bodies mostly naked and with uṣṇīṣa. The figure on the right has both the hands in the act of preaching or dharmacakra-mudrā; the other has the right hand in the act of bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā and the left one, up almost at the height of the breast, is in the act of meditation (dhyana-mudrā). The first figure represents, surely, Vairocana, the god that usually takes the place of honour in temples connected with the activities of Ratnabhadra (Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po).

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(1) Crossed legs in a way in which the right foot rests on the left thigh with the sole turned up and the left foot with the sole up rests on the right thigh.

The second represents Vajrāsana. Between the heads of the two deities on a small basement there are, perhaps, some remains of feet of whom we cannot say. Below, between the two stems of the lotuses belonging to the seat of both the gods, there is a flower that may very well be a lotus. Both the gods are framed by a double ring of light *(prabhā-maṇḍala)*.

On the right edge there are two rough figures of animals, a horse and an elephant. Since the tsha-tsha has been found broken just on the border where the figure of Vajrāsana ends, it cannot be said whether in the missing side too were represented other animals. Anyway, seeing here the figures of horse and elephant coupled, I am inclined to think of the other two, namely the lion and the bull, which according to some Buddhist cosmographic conceptions, stand at four sides of the Anavatapta Lake. From their mouths are coming out the four great rivers of Jambudvīpa, i.e. Gaṅgā from the bull towards the East, Sindhu from the elephant to the South *(glaṅ-chen kha-bab* as the Sutlej is called by the Tibetans), Vakṣu (or Pakṣu) out of the horse to the West, and Sītā from the lion to the North.

These cosmographic beliefs preserved by Buddhist and presupposing a division of the world into four, are possibly to be put in relation to the doctrine of four emperors(1), this doctrine, originating perhaps in a civilisation developed far away from the sea but along great rivers, considers, along with an Indian tradition received later on also by Muslim travellers, that the world is divided in four parts. These beliefs have surely very ancient origins. The four animals out of which the four rivers issue symbolize, according to the above-mentioned legend, already the four directions on the capitals of Sarnath. It is not impossible that their prototype is to be looked for in ancient cosmographic myths, whose traces have been lost, except for sporadic hints in Buddhist literature. It is

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(1) Pelliot, *La théorie des quatre fils du Ciel* (extract from T'oung Pao, p. 97).

not to be excluded that similar beliefs had inspired a famous sigill(1), found in Mohenjodaro. Here the central god is surrounded by four animals, in fact, elephant, tiger, buffalo, rhino. The substitution of a rhino by a horse can be very well explained with the spreading of the Indo-iranian communities, which introduced the horse in India. Anyway, it seems to me that this series of four animals, whose echo reached even Cosma-Indicopleustes and which occurs also on Buddhist coins, has cosmographic origins and connections rather than a symbolic value of the particular moments in the life of Śākyamuni, namely, elephant = conception; bull = month of Vaiśākha (April-May) when he was born, horse = *abhiniṣkramaṇa* or leaving worldly life for the ascetic one; lion = preaching of the Law, called *siṁhanāda,* roaring of a lion, in the same way as Śākyamuni is also called Śākyasiṁha, lion of the clan of Śākyas(2). This does not exclude that, with time, the two symbols, as often happens in India, have superimposed one on the other.

No. 46. LEH. AMITĀYUS, AMITĀBHA *(Tshe-pa-med-pa)*. The god sits on a lotus flower *(padmāsana)*, rests on a throne *(siṁhāsana)*. In front there are two peacocks, the traditional vehicle *(vahana)* of Amitābha. The god is seated in the position called *vajraparyaṅka* with ornaments(3) and diadem *(mukuṭa)*. His hands are in dhyāna-mudrā, that is to say in the attitude of meditation. On them there is the sacramental vase, *kalaśa, bum-pa.*

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(1) See *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization,* edited by Sir John Marshall 1931, vol. I, p. XII, no. 17.

(2) Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art,* Pl. 1.

(3) The ornaments of a god are listed by the Parānandasūtra, p.5: *nābhilambiny udaralambinī hṛllambinī vā mālā; hastayor valaye, karṇayoḥ kuṇḍale; dakṣānāmikāyām aṅgulīyakam* "necklace descending to the navel, to the stomach, or heart; bracelets on wrists; ear-rings in the ears; ring on the ring-finger of the right hand". Besides the Sādhanamālā, very useful for the identification of various iconographic types is the *Sgrub-paḥi-thabs rgya-mtshoḥi cho-ga rjes-gnaṅ daṅ bcas-pa ḥdod-dguḥi dpal gter* by Pad-ma-dkar-po, who describes 155 divinities.

Around, in Tibetan script is the formula: *oṁ vajra-āyuṣe svāhā,* namely, the mantra of Amitābha.

No. 47. UGU. Id. Representation of the god in the same way. The inscription in Tibetan script is: *oṁ dri hūṁ vajradsna (jñā) na ā yuṣe svāha a (om?) ja.*

No. 48 and 48b. LEH. Id. The throne is missing. The god is represented as before. All around in Tibetan script the formula: *oṁ vajra a yu ṣe svāhā oṁ ā hūṁ.*

Nos. 49, 50, 51. KAJE, LEH. Id. (Pl. XVIa). Similar, identical type. Inscription: *oṁ vajra ā yu ṣe svāhā.*

No. 52. TABO. Id. Similar. But the inscription cannot be deciphered. The god sits on a throne adorned with the usual peacocks.

No. 53. LEH. Id. Similar to the preceeding numbers, but without inscription.

No. 54. KHALATZE. Id. Similar to the preceeding ones, without inscription. The figure of the god is included in a trilobate frame.

No. 55. BASGO. Id. (Pl. XVIb). The god sits in vajraparyaṅka on a lotus flower. To the left and right two figures of Bodhisattvas also seated on a lotus. To the right of Amitābha is Maitreya, having in the left hand a lotus with a long stem, while the right hand is in vitarka-mudrā or pose of logical discussion. On the left Manjuśrī, seated in the same way, with the right hand in vitarka-mudrā and the left rests on the soil, keeps a flower with a long stem on which there is a sword (see nos. 88, 89).

No. 56. KAJE. Id. (Pl. XVIc). The god is seated in vajraparyaṅka on a lotus flower inside a trilobate frame and under a festoon. On both sides two bodhisattvas with the right hand in varada-mudrā and the left at the height of the hips, but with emblems or attitudes not discernible.

No. 57. UPSHI. (Pl. XVId). AKṢOBHYA *(Mi-skyod-pa).* The god, wearing his ornaments and diadem, sits in the vajraparyaṅka posture on a lotus flower. The right hand is in bhūmisparśa-mudrā, i.e. the posture assumed by all Buddhas, when under the bodhi tree, that get illumination and therefore call the earth to testify to the great event. The left hand is in the attitude of meditation, dhyana-mudrā, and on it rests vertically the vajra *(rdo-rje).* Around, on both sides, the mantra: *oṁ ā hūṁ* in Tibetan script.

No. 58. UGU. Id. Similar iconographic type, the same inscription in Tibetan script as before, but very corroded. The lotus rests on a throne on whose front two elephants are visible. In fact, the vāhana or vehicle of Akṣobhya is the elephant. On the left, a stupa (mchod-rten).

No. 59. SASPOLA. Id. Similar type lacking the lower portion. The figure of a stupa (mchod-rten) is on the right. All around, very corroded, the mantra: *oṁ ā hūṁ.*

No. 60. KYELANG. Id. (Pl. XVIe). The tsha-tsha is in terracotta. The god is dressed in monastic robes and wears the usnisa on the head. On the back and behind the head a double circle of light. On the throne two elephants. For the rest, everything is the same.

No. 61. LEH. Id. Same iconographic type. All around traces of an illegible inscription.

No. 62. STOK (Pl. XVIf). RATNASAMBHAVA. The god is seated in vajraparyaṅka on a lotus flower, leaning on a throne. In front figures of two lions are visible. They run in opposite directions. The lion is, in fact, the vehicle (vāhana) of the god. He wears monk's robe and the usnisa. The right hand is in the mudra expressing charity, varada-mudrā, while the left one is in the attitude of meditation, dhyāna-mudrā. On the palm he upholds the monastic vase, *piṇḍa-pātra, lhuṅ-bzed.* On both sides the samll figures of deva, with ornaments and ear-rings, who appear to have entered in the attitude of devotion or homage, *añjali-mudrā.* Above them, there are two bases surmounted by two figures of birth recognizable as peacocks, because of their long tail folded in large spires. Above a head of Garuḍa.

For similar representations in the frame of the central deity see B. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography,* Pl. VII and VIII.

No. 63. STOK. (Pl. XVIII). VAJRĀSANA *(Rdo-rje-gdan)*, namely Sākyamuni at the very moment in which he gets illumination. The Buddha, dressed in monk's robes, is seated in vajra-paryaṅka on the throne, *bodhi-maṇḍa.* His left hand is in the pose of meditation, dhyāna-mudrā, and the right touches the earth invoked as witness to the conquest of truth, in the pose of bhumi-sparśa-mudrā. Light around his head. This circle of light is surrounded to the left and right and above by three stupas(mchod-rten) of the type "descent from heaven". On both sides of the Buddha, resting on two lotus flowers, the figures of two Bodhisattvas or devas with tiaras and with the right hand in the act of vitarka-mudrā. Traces of inscription in Indian characters of the IX-X century. Below ... *hy avadat tesam ca yo nirodha,* i.e. the usual formula. Above between the throne and the bodhisattva also to the left of Buddha, *dya sarvasattva ... rva la.* The tsha-tsha is very similar to those found in Bodhgaya, published by Cunningham and spread somehow everywhere in India. See for instance Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* Pl. IX.

No. 64. LEH. Id. (Pl. XVIIIa). Same iconographic type. On the sides of Buddha, seated on the throne two little figures of devas in the pose of adoration.

No. 65. LEH. Id. Only the Buddha on dhyānāsana(1). All around, in Tibetan script: *oṁ namo mahāmune svāhā* "homage to the great ascetic, svāhā".

No. 66. SHEH. Id. Inside a little temple whose central dome culminates in a point, the Buddha sits on a lotus flower. On the side small standing figures of two disciples or two devas. In all probability the temple represents the temple of Mahabodhi.

No. 67. LEH, STOK. Id. Buddha without acolytes. The lotus flower rests on a throne, on whose face two heads of lions are visible.

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(1) Different from vajra-paryaṅka because only the sole of the left foot is visible.

No. 68. GYA. Id. (Pl. XVIIIb). Śākyamuni in dharmacakra-mudrā, or attitude of preaching; all around the same formula.

No. 69. NAMGYAL. Id.(?). The corroded state of the tsha-tsha cannot allow any exactness in determining the attributes of the represented deity. The seated figure is in the attitude of vajrāsana. His hands are in dhyāna-mudrā: he could be Amitābha (with the kalaśa in the hands) or Akṣobhya (with the vajra).

No. 70. STOK. (Pl. XIXa). Buddha seated in vajraparyaṅka on a lotus flower. All around, in Tibetan script: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 71. GYA. (Pl. XIXb). LOKANĀTHA. The god sits on a lotus flower in the pose called lalitākṣepa. As indicated by the very word, it is different from lalitasana for the right leg instead of hanging abandoned down the throne, is up and folded in such a way that the heel touches the thigh of the other leg. It is different also from rajalilasana, because the right hand is not, as in that one, propped on the right knee.

In the left hand he has a lotus flower with a long stem, and the right is spread in the act of charity, varada-mudrā. On the head the diadem and all around him there is the circle of light. On the right, in order to keep a symmetric view with the lotus flower, is the figure of a small stupa(mchod-rten) on whose summit are flapping the usual standards, *patākā.* Near the stupa(mchod-rten) there is a bell *(ghaṇṭā, dril-bu).* The type corresponds, therefore, perfectly to the 18th sādhana of the Sādhanamālā, edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (about whom see *Buddhist Iconography,* Pl. XXd).

jaṭā-mukuṭa-maṇḍitaṁ
vajradharm-āntaḥstham aśeṣa-roga-nāśanaṁ
varadaṁ dakṣiṇe haste vāme padmadharaṁ tathā
lalitākṣepa-saṁsthaṁ tu mahāsaumyaṁ prabhāsvaram.

Below the stupa(mchod-rten) can be read the *saḍakṣara-mantra,* namely, the sacred formula in six syllables: *om maṇi-padme* *hūṁ,* which belongs to Lokeśvara as patron or revelator, *ādiguru,* of the *ṣaḍakṣarī mahāvidyā,* namely, of the mystical science of the six syllables. Instead, the formula belonging to Lokanātha, according to the Sādhanamālā is: *oṁ hruḥ svāhā.* But this divergence in the mantra cannot induce us to modify our identification because Lokeśvara and Lokanātha are two aspects of Avalokiteśvara, the patron deity of Tibet. And to him belongs the mantra: *oṁ maṇipadme hūṁ.* Anyway, the usual representations of Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara are quite different from those of Lokanātha for making possible a confusion between the two types.

Round the figure is the inscription in Tibetan script: *ye dharmā* etc. *(vāṭī, teśān);* in order to sign the long *ī* is used the *gigu* upside down. Artistically, this tsha-tsha is undoubtedly one of the finest and best made that I have ever come across. It has strict analogies with the small figures of the same type on relief over a terracotta plate found near Sabhar near Dacca. See N.K. Bhattasali, p. 32 and Pl. Xb, fig. 2 of the first line, figs. 1 and 5 of the second, 1 and 3 of the third.

No. 72. STOK. Id. Similar to the preceding one. But the type is less fine and it is not so perfectly preserved. The stupa (mchod-rten), bell and mantra are missing. Around the figure there is the usual formula in a North Indian script of the X-XI century, but almost illegible.

No. 73. SHEH. Id. Similar to the preceeding ones and possibly impressed with the same stamp used for no. 71 or with one almost identical.

No. 74. UGU. (Pl. XXa). AVALOKITEŚVARA *(Spyan-ras-gzigs),* just in his form of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara, namely, Lokeśvara as patron of the mystical science of the six syllables: *oṁ maṇipadme hūṁ.* The ttype has been described by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in his *Buddhist Iconography,* p. 33 and in the introduction to the edition of the Sādhanamālā p.cl. He occurs as a central divinity (Tib. *gtso-bo* contraposed to *ḥkhor, parivāra* or follower) in the maṇḍala of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara, namely Lokeśvara accompanied by Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī mahāvidyā. It is one of the most common types of Spyan-ras-gzigs in Tibetan iconography, known by the name of *Yi-ge-drug-paḥi rig-pa-chen-poḥi gtso gsum* i.e. “the three divinities, the central one and his assistants, in the mystical science of sixfold letters”.

The god, seated in the posture of vajra-paryaṅka on a lotus flower, wears his ornaments and has his head covered with the tiara. Of his four arms, the first two are joined at the waist in the attitude of añjali. Of the other two, the one on the left holds a lotus flower, and the one on the right a rosary *(akṣamālā, bgreṅ-ḥphreṅ).* Below the throne is the mantra of six syllables in Tibetan script: *om maṇipadme hūṁ.*

No. 75. LEH. Id. (Pl. XXb). The mantra of six syllables runs around the image repeated thrice.

Nos. 76, 77, 78, 79. LEH. Dankhar, Kyelang, Tabo. Id. Same types but without the inscriptions. These have to be considered as the most common tsha-tsha, since they are found a bit everywhere: in stupas(mchod-rten), in temples, in private chapels. This can be explained by remembering the character assumed by Avalokiteśvara in Tibet as the protector of the country and remembering the almost thaumaturgic value attached to his mantra.

Nos. 80, 81. LEH and TABO (Pl. XXI). AVALOKITEŚVARA *Spyan-ras-gzigs zhal-bcu-gcig,* Avalokiteśvara with eleven heads(1). The standing god, wrapped in his robe, has eleven heads as expressed by his very Tibetan name, and they are in the following order: three, three, three, one, one. He has eight arms, out of which two folded at the waist in the act of adoration, añjali: those on the right, beginning from above, have a rosary, wheel *(cakra, ḥkhor-lo)* and the last one expresses the vitarka-mudrā or pose of dialectic reasoning,

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(1) Likewise in Chinese he is known by the name of 十一面.

Those on the left, also beginning from above, hold a lotus flower, the bow and the conch. The image is enclosed in a trilobate frame. Around the eleven heads, on both sides, there is the usual mantra: om maṇi-padme hūṁ. In no. 81 (Tabo) below the left arms is oṁ ā hūṁ.

No. 82. SHUSHOT. PADMAPĀṆI LOKEŚVARA. The god is represented standing on a lotus flower, with mukuṭa and ornaments. In the left hand he has a lotus flower with a long stem and the right is in the posture of charity, varada-mudrā. On the left is the ṣaḍakṣara-mantra in Tibetan script: *oṁ maṇi-padme hūṁ*.

No. 83. TIKSE. (Pl. XXIIa). ARAPACANA (MAÑJUŚRĪ). The god, with a diadem on his head, sits in the posture called dhyānāsana, on a throne represented by a lotus flower. According to the sādhana which describes it (Sādhanamālā, no.122ff.) in the left hand folded on the chest he holds the *pustaka*, the book, that in fact is the Prajñāpāramitā, i.e. the mystic knowledge (wisdom), or Sophia. On the right he has the sword, representing in fact that very Sophia or supreme intuition. This one becomes an active force because it destroys and tears the veil of ignorance(1). All around, in the script of XI-XII century is the formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 84. LEH. Id. Inscription in North Indian script of XI-XII century, having the same formula: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 85. BASGO. Id. Head missing. On the left a lotus flower. Without inscription.

No. 86. LEH. (Pl. XXIIb). Id. Damaged face. He sits in vajraparyaṅka. On the right, *oṁ ā ra pa tsa na dhīḥ* in Tibetan script. The *bīja* or seed of mantra, namely *dhīḥ*, is appropriate to

that form of Arapacana that is usually known in the literature of sādhana by the name of Sadyo'nubhava.

The cult of Arapacana seems to be very ancient in Ladakh. In fact, the name and the mantra of the god are found engraved or sculpted on the rocks with great frequency near the temples or the most ancient centres of the country: Mulbek, Alchi, Sheh, etc.

No. 87. TIKSE. (Pl. XXIIIa). MAÑJUŚRĪ. *First type.* The ~~god is~~ seated on a lotus flower in dhyānāsana. The left hand has a lotus flower with a long stem. On the flower rests the book of prajñā. The right hand holds the sword raised above his head. On the head the diadem. On the right side the figure of a small stupa (mchod-rten). The figure of the god is closed in a circle curving above so as to give to the circle a trilobate shape. All around is the formula in archaic Tibetan script: *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 88, 89. LEH (Pl. XXIIIb). Id. *Second type.* Similar to the preceeding one, but the left hand rests on the chest in vitarka-mudrā, that is to say in the pose symbolising logical reasoning. The lotus holding the book of prajñā is on a stem slightly twisted to the left of the god.

Nos. 90, 91. LEH. (Pl. XXIVa). Basgo, Tabo. Id. *Third type.* The god is seated on padmāsana in vajraparyaṅka and his head is covered with a diadem. The ornaments are visible. His hands are joined at the chest in the pose of preaching, dharmacakra-mudrā. On both sides two lotus flowers. On the lotus in the right is the sword with the top towards the upper part. On the lotus on the left, the book of prajña.

No. 92. BASGO. Id. Traces of inscription *(Oṁ . . . m)*(1).

Nos. 93, 94. LEH & TASHIGANG. (Pl. XXIVb). MAITREYA *(Byams-pa).* The god, dressed in his robe leaving his right shoulder uncovered and finely worked, sits in European fashion, bhadrāsana,

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(1) Cf. the *udāna* or inspired sentence that some texts attribute to Mañjuśrī:

idaṁ sarva-buddhānāṁ prajñāpāramitā-nayaṁ/
chettāraṁ sarva-śatrūṇāṁ sarva-pāpaharaṁ paraṁ//

Mahākalparāja, fol. 38a.

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(1) *Mum* or *mu* is a sacred syllable in mantras particular to Mañjuśrī.

on a throne covered with a cushion. His feet hang down on a lotus flower. His ears are long and his lobes reach the shoulders according to the peculiar characterization of the super-man: *mahāpuruṣa.* His hair are knotted on the nape of the neck. His hands, brought at the height of the chest express the pose of preaching, dharmacakra-mudrā. On the left a lotus flower, or a flower of campaka or of nāgakesara. On it there is the *kalaśa* or ceremonial vase. According to all these characteristics, it is clear that Maitreya is represented in this tsha-tsha not as a Bodhisattva, but as a Buddha, the Buddha of the cosmic era (kalpa) immediately following the one in which we live.

No. 95. LEH. (Pl. XXVa). Id. Maitreya is represented, instead, as a Bodhisattva seated on a lotus flower in vajraparyaṅka. Both hands are in the pose of dharmacakra-mudrā. On the right a lotus flower on which rests a cintāmaṇi gem. On the left, the nāgakesara flower on which the kalaśa can be seen. On the left, below, there is the figure of a small stupa(mchod-rten). All around the mantra: *oṁ mai tre [ya] maiṁ* (mystic formula of Maitreya).

No. 96. LEH. Id. Similar, but without inscription and smaller.

No. 96bis. LEH. Id. Similar to the preceeding one, but of smaller proportions. The stupa(mchod-rten) on the right of the god is missing.

No. 97. GYA. (Pl. XXVb). MAITREYA (?). The god is represented standing on a lotus flower with diadem and usual ornaments. In his right hand, resting along his side, he keeps a lotus flower with a long stem, while the left hand is elevated till the height of the chest and is in a pose which could either be abhaya-mudrā or vitarka-mudrā. At the height of the left shoulder there is, on a flower, an object that could be a *kalaśa,* the usual symbol of Maitreya.

Nos. 98, 99. STOK (Pl. XXVI). VAJRADHARA. The god sits on a throne of lotus in dhyānāsana. His right hand is on the chest in the pose of vitarka-mudrā, while his left resting on the hip seems to hold a flower. On his head a mukuta or diadem with flapping bandage. All around the usual formula: *ye dharma* in archaic Tibetan script. Then, the mantra: *oṁ vajra dha ra ma hri sa(1) ya (?) gun rakṣāṁ ku ru svāhā* which allows the identification of the represented type.

No. 100. LEH. Id. Same iconographic type, but the inscription, in the usual formula *ye dharmā* etc. seems more archaic.

These three tsha-tsha show us, therefore, a new iconographic type, or better said a variety of Vajradhara. He is usually represented with crossed arms, of which the right one holds the vajra and the left the bell.

No. 101. TIKSE. (Pl. XXVIIa). TĀRĀ ŚYĀMAVARṆĀ or simply SYAMA-TĀRĀ (Tib. *Sgrol-ma ljan-gu* or simply *Sgrol ljaṅ,* pron. Droljan). According to the traditional type of Indo-Tibetan iconography, the goddess sits in the pose called lalitāsana on a lotus flower? Her right hand goes down to the height of the knee and is outstretched in the expression of charity, varada-mudrā; out of this pose comes also the name of Varada Tārā given to the goddess so represented. In the left hand, up to the height of breast she holds a lotus flower, on the right another flower. Without inscription.

Nos. 102—107bis. KANAM, LEH, TIKSE, etc. (Pl. XXVIIb). Id: Identical type.

No. 108. KYELANG. SITA TĀRĀ (Pl. XXVIIIa). (Tib. *Sgrol-ma dkar-mo,* or simply *Sgrol dkar,* pron. Drol-kar). The goddess sits on the lotus flower in the pose of vajraparyaṅka. Her right hand is in varada-mudrā, while the left is up at the height of the breast and holds a lotus flower. Around in Tibetan script is the formula: *oṁ tā re tu ttā re tu re svāhā,* which is exactly the mantra of the goddess.

No. 109. LEH. Id. Iconographic type similar but without inscription.

No. 110. STOK. (Pl. XXVIII). VAJRAPĀṆI (*Phyag-na-rdo-rje* or *Phyag-dor,* pron. Cagdor). *First type.* The god, with three eyes and with flames *(jvālāśikhā)* coming out from his diademed head, is obese, and holds the vajra in his right hand raised above. His left hand is in the pose called tarjanī-mudrā, or symbol of threaten ing. He wears a necklace and ear-rings. His legs are divaricated towards the left in the posture called pratyālīḍha. A scarf flaps around him as moved by his quick procession. He is, therefore, Vajrapāṇi in his irate aspect, *krodha, khro-bo.* On the right is *oṁ vajra,* on the chest *hūṁ,* namely the beginning and the end of the mantra belonging to the god: *oṁ vajrapāṇi hūṃ phaṭ.*

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(1) For this form see Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain,* p. 103, 105.

Nos. 111-112. TASHIGANG, KANAM. (Pl. XXIXa, b). Id. Similar iconographic type. No. 111 (Tashigang) has a corrupt inscription: *phaṭ,* namely, the same mantra as in no. 110.

No. 113. LEH. (Pl. XXX). Id. *Second Type.* The god is in the posture pratyālīḍha with his legs leaning on two corpses(1). He has three heads with diadem, and the central face has the third eye. He has six arms, out of which those on the right, beginning from above, have a vajra, a noose, while the last one is raised to the chest in the act of protection, abhaya-mudrā. Of those on the left, the first one above is in the pose of threat, tarjanī-mudrā and the lower one in varada-mudrā, the middle one has a noose corresponding to one in the right. His mouth, in the act of a terrific grin, seems to tear the noose with his teeth.

A reproduction very similar to this divinity can be seen in Grünwedel (*Mythologie des Buddhismus* p. 161, fig. 135). The only difference is that it is of the type yab-yum (literally, father-mother) because it shows the coupling of the god with his śakti or *dýnamis,* rather crude symbol of the indissoluble connection between the two coefficients of supreme illumination: *prajñā,*

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(1) In this case too the base is represented by a lotus flower, usual throne for all the gods. The difference is in the colour. When the superior plane of the lotus or padmāsana is white it is the candrāsana "lunar seat"; when it is red, it is the suryasana or "solar seat". The first belongs only to propitious or serene *(śiva, zhi)* divinities, the second one belongs to the terrific and furious *(krodha, khro-bo)* divinities.

mystical wisdom, and *upāya,* means i.e. practice, and observance of the precepts, specially of the one concentrating the entire praxis of the Mahāyāna, that is mercifulness, *mahākaruṇa.*

Therefore, it is the irate aspect *(krodha)* which predominates in the Tibetan iconography of Vajrapāṇi. He is considered not only a protector of the Law, but also as the subduer of evil forces, and as the one who with the magic force of his rdo-rje compels the creatures to recognize the holy Buddhist trinity: the Buddha, the Law, the Community. He assumes this aspect specially in Vajrayāna schools, whose literature describes in great details the *digvijaya* or triumph of the god over all the denigrators or negators of the faith. First of all he triumphs over Maheśvara or Śiva, who being the lord of the three worlds, does not want to hear the word of Vajrapāṇi. Therefore, Vajrapāṇi overthrows him and tramples him together with his devī Umā. This victory of Vajrapāṇi over Śiva, which other texts of Vajrayāna attribute instead to Acala-Vidyārāja(1), is ~~of~~ noticeable interest, because it preserves for us in mythical and dramatic form an echo of the rivalry proved by Tantric Buddhism against Śaiva sects. This rivalry is amply described by the Sarva-tathāgata-vajra-samaya-mahākalpa-rāja, a large fragment of which has been found in Nepal in a manuscript on palm-leaves, written in late Gupta script, possibly of the IX century(2). The same text has preserved the dhyāna or formula according to which the god has to be meditated upon by the devotee, and drawn in a maṇḍala prescribed by ritual(3).

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(1) See for instance *Ti li san mei ye pu tuṅ tsuen sheṅ che nien ṡuṅ pi mi fa,* Taisho 1201:21.14a.

(2) Folio 75b of the copy sent to me by General Kesar Sham Sher Jang Bahadur, who has traced and preserved the manuscript and with his usual courtesy has acceded to my desire of letting me have it and copy it. The whole passage, interesting also for other reasons, and which I will illustrate in a second volume dedicated to Indian gnosis, is published and translated in appendix 2.

(3) Folio 87.

Tatra madhye mahāsattvaṁ Vajrapāṇiṁ samālikhet/
mahānilotpala-rucaṁ vajrahūṁkāra-saṅgraham//
īṣad-daṁṣṭra-karālāsyaṁ saroṣa-hasit-ānanam/
pratyālīḍha-susa[ṁsthānaṃ mā]lāmālākula-prabham//
vāma-pāda-samākrāntas tena kāryo maheśvaraḥ/
dakṣiṇaṁ tu likhet pādaṃ umā-stanabhara-sthitam//

"in the middle of that maṇḍala you draw Vajrapāṇi, the excellent creature; the colour of his body be similar to that of the blue lotus and have (in itself the double power)(1) of the vajra and of the hūṁkāra; his mouth, terrific, should be open so as to show slightly his teeth, and his face composed in a smile of wrath. He should be in the posture of pratyālīḍha; the splendour of his limbs should be obscured by the wreath made of rosaries. One should represent Maheśvara trampled upon by his left foot, while his right foot has to rest over the breast of Umā".

Therefore, in the tsha-tsha described and generally in all the similar figures of Vajrapāṇi one has to see in the two corpses trampled upon by the God the two major gods of the Śaiva pantheon; thus we have to connect with Tantric literature the resulting iconographic type, as we have hinted before.

No. 114. NAKO. SAṀVARA(Bde-mchog).' (Pl. XXXI). The god is represented in the posture ālīḍha, namely with his legs open towards right; and these trample upon two human figures, not clearly cognisable in their attributes. A girdle of skulls hangs from the waist. He has four heads and on the central one a third eye can be distinguished. The fourfold head is surrounded by a crown of skulls while his hair, knotted in the fashion of an ascetic, are raised on the back in a conic shape. The god embraces his śakti Vajravārāhī and has twelve arms. His sakti has two arms, out of which the left one embraces the neck of Saṁvara and her right brandishes the rdo-rje. Two arms of the god are folded on the back of his śakti, the right one holds the vajra and the left the bell *(ghaṇṭā, dril-bu).* The other five arms have the following symbols: right from above: a) holds the end of a string made of elephant-skin/*glaṅ-lpags;* b) the *ḍamaru* or magic drum; c) a hatchet, *paraśu, dgra-sta;* d) an intrument not well distinguishable, but that could be the dagger, *karttrī, gri-gug;* e) the trident, *triśūla, kha-tvam-ga rtse-gsum;* left from above: a) performing the tarjanī-mudrā, he holds the other end of the elephant skin; b) khaṭvāṅga; c) a cup made from a human skull, *kapāla, thod-pa;* d) the noose, *pāśa, żhags-pa;* e) the triple head of Brahmā, cut off(1).

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(1) This means that when Vajrapāṇi assumes the irate attitude *(krodha)* he performs his destructive work on rival forces, by virtue of the vajra be brandishes and the syllable *hūṁ* he pronounces.

This iconographic type therefore is rather similar, except for minor details (for instance, the bell instead of a second rdo-rje in two hands embracing the śakti) to that reproduced by Grunwedel, op. cit. fig. 84.

Below it can be read the mantra of seven syllables *saptākṣara-mantra* belonging to Saṁvara: *Oṁ hrīḥ hā hā hūṁ hūṁ phaṭ* which in the Sādhanamālā is considered as the mantra of that form of the god called in fact Saptākṣara although it corresponds to an iconographic type very different from ours (Sādhanamālā, p. 490, B. Bhattacharyya, *Buddh. Icon.* p. 65).

No. 115. TIKSE. Id. (Pl. XXXII). The god is represented without his śakti, but his hands have the same symbols. Above, on the sides of the crest and of his hair there are figures of two small stupas(mchod-rten). Below can be read, in a script of the X-XI century, the *saptakṣara-mantra: oṁ hrīḥ ha ha huṁ huṁ phat* and the formula: *ye dharma* etc.

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(1) In India — therefore also in Tibet — there is a large literature on Saṁvara going back to the Saṁvara-tantra often commented because it is considered a guide and a vehicle to reach mystical experiences of a very complex character. The cycle of Saṁvara is included, according to Tibetan schools, in the Anuttara-Yogatantra, *rnal-ḥbyor bla-med rgyud,* namely, in most secret and difficult esoteric teachings. The other schools are represented by the cycle of Guhyasamāja, of Kālacakra, of Vajrapāṇi and of Bhairava.

No. 116. LEH. MAHĀKĀLA. (Pl. XXXIII). He is represented in his form of *Ye-śes mgon-po,* Prajña-nātha the protector of mystic knowledge, the protecting deity of the Dge-legs-pa, namely of the yellow sect. The god, with obese form, is seated in the posture called lalitāsana: he has his face posed into a terrible grin and his hair knotted in the fashion of ascetics. He has four arms, out of which the two on the right, beginning from above, hold the sword and the rdo-rje? (1) and those on the left, also beginning from above, keep the trident and the kapala or cup made out of a human skull.

Nos. 117–120. LEH, TASHIGANG. VAJRADĀKA (Pl. XXXIIIb). The god, in his form yab-yum, i.e. coupled with his sakti, sits in the posture vajrāsana on a lotus flower. He has three heads, all wearing diadem and ear-rings. On the forehead of the central one is visible the third eye. The god tightly embraces his śakti, who too has three heads, although only two are visible. She has four arms, out of which the left two, beginning from above, respectively hold a not well detectable flower and a sword; the right ones, also beginning from above, hold a noose *(pāśa)* and another flowers in a bunch. The god, instead, has six arms, out of which the ones embracing the sakti hold some objects whose state of preservation in the tsha-tsha does not allow us to recognize them definitely, but which possibly are the vajra and the bell; out of the remaining ones, the two on the right beginning from above, show the cintāmaṇi gem and a mirror *(ādarśa, me-loṅ)* and the two in the left a sword and a flower. On the right there is the inscription in Tibetan script *oṁ va dzra ḍā ka.* This mantra allows us, therefore, to recognize the represented divinity, although we cannot determine with surety which out of the many forms of Vajraḍāka listed in the

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(1) But according to the dhyāna he should be in the pose of varada-mudrā.

Tantric texts or in the Sādhanamālā, is exactly intended to be reproduced. In no. 120 on the left is visible a small stupa(mchod-rten).

No. 121. STOK. KĀRTIKEYA MANJUŚRI. (Pl. XXXIIIc). The god rides a peacock. He has on his head a diadem on whose sides two bands *(paṭṭa, dpyaṅs)* descend down touching his shoulders. His right hand raised above holds the sword, while his left folded on the chest holds the book of prajñā. On the right of the god there is a vajra and a flower with three petals. On his left the viśvavajra, *sna-tshogs-rdo-rje,* or the double vajra, surmounted by a lotus flower. All around in Tibetan script the usual formula *ye dharmā.* The symbols and their disposition lead us to identify the figure here represented with one of the many forms of Mañjuśrī. It is true that the peacock is considered as the vehicle of Vajradharma Lokeśvara (Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p.51), but a comparison in this regard is be excluded by the symbols that, while in the tsha-tsha are characteristic of a well-defined form of Mañjuśrī, in the case of Vajradharma also are very peculiar to Lokeśvara. Fortunately, the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa allows us to identify with surety the iconographic type represented on our tsha-tsha.

The peacock is the mount of Kārttikeya-Mañjuśrī(1), and is a Hindu-Buddhist contamination out of many examples given to us by late Mahāyāna. The *vāhana* or traditional vehicle of Kārttikeya or Skanda is the peacock, whence the god is known in Chinese translations under the name of "the god mounting on the peacock".

Contamination was perhaps determined by two main motifs: in the first place by the sword that Mañjuśrī usually holds and by the warlike character of Kārttikeya. In the second by the epithet

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(1) Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa 1.45: *dvitīya-dvāra-samīpe Kārttikeya-mañjuśrīḥ* (sic) *mayūrāsanaḥ śaktipāṇiḥ rakt-āvabhāsa-mūrttiḥ pīta-vastra-nivast-ottarāsaṅginaḥ* (sic) *dakṣiṇa-haste ghantā-patāk-āvasaktah kumāra-rūpī mandalaṁ nirīksamānaḥ.*

Kumārabhūta "the prince", which usually is given to Manjusri. And this necessarily recalls the most common appellation of Kārttikeya, that is to say Kumāra(1).

Our tsha-tsha is the first example, to my knowledge, of this iconographic type

No. 122. LEH. (Pl. XXXIIId). VAJRASATTVA (*Rdo-rje-sems-pa).* The god sits on a lotus flower in the posture vajraparyaṅka: he wears on his head the diadem, beyond which can be seen the ascetic knot. His right hand is raised at the height of his chest and holds on the palm something very indistinct, but which cannot be anything but the vajra. His left hand, instead, rests on the left thigh and holds the bell. It is the regular iconographic type of Vajrasattva.

No. 123. MIRU. (Pl. XXXIVa). VIJAYĀ *(Rnam-rgyal-ma),* or even better Uṣṇīṣavijayā *(Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal-ma).* The goddess sits in vajraparyaṅka. She has three heads(2) and eight arms. Out of these, those on the right beginning from above, hold the little statue of Amitābha—that in our copy is invisible—the vajra, the arrow *(śara)* and the last one is in the attitude of charity, varada-mudrā. Those on the left also beginning from above, express the symbol of protection abhaya-mudrā, the symbol of threat tarjanī-mudrā, hold the noose and keep the bow *(cāpa)* and the vase, *pūrṇakumbha,* resting on the palm of the hand in dhyāna-mudrā. Although the figure is not clear, the vajra should be the double vajra, called in Sanskrit *viśvavajra,* and in Tibetan *rdo-rje rgya-gram* or *sna-tshog-rdo-rje.* Dhāraṇī or mystical formulas dedicated to Uṣṇiṣavijayā are very often engraved on small walls in Ladakh and in West Tibet, substituting the most common ṣaḍakṣara-mantra: *oṁ maṇi-padme hūṁ.*

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(1) See M. Lalou, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* p. 69.

(2) The one on the left is black and represents the irate aspect, the right one is yellow and represents the placid aspect.

(b) Grouped Divinities

No. 124. LEH. (Pl. XXXIVb). The central figure, of bigger proportions than the other five, represents ṢAḌAKṢARĪ-LOKEŚVARA according to the iconographic type seen above (nos. 74ff). On his right and on his left two figures sit in vajraparyaṅka, they too have four arms, out of which two are raised at the height of chest, in the pose of adoration (añjali); out of the other two, the one on the left is folded at the height of the shoulders while his hand seems to hold a lotus flower, the attribute in the right hands cannot be distinguished but it can be easily guessed to be a rosary *(akṣamālā).* There is no doubt in fact that the two figures represent the *parivāra (ḥkhor-lo)* of Lokeśvara, namely, Maṇidhara on the right, and Ṣaḍakṣarī mahāvidyā on the left, a type well known in India (see B. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 33, pl. XVIII).

On the upper part, above the figure of Lokeśvara, also seated on a padmāsana in vajraparyaṅka, with the hands in the attitude of meditation (dhyāna-mudrā) holding a mystic vase, there is Amitābha. He is one of the Pañca-Tathāgata or five supreme Buddhas, of whom Avalokiteśvara is the emanation. On the left is the figure of Mañjuśrī, according to the traditional iconographic type, namely with the sword in the right hand and the lotus flower in the left. On his right Vajrapāṇi in the attitude called pratyālīḍha, having the vajra in the right and in the left the kapāla or cup made out of a human skull. All the divinities are surrounded by the usual circle of light.

Nos. 125 and 125bis. TABO. (No. 125bis fragmentary). (Pl. XXXVa). The figures of Lokeśvara, Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī are represented, as in the preceeding tsha-tsha. The figure above Lokeśvara must be Amitābha, but it is so corroded that its details cannot be distinguished. On the left Vajrapāṇi: The figure on the right cannot be identified.

No. 126. STOK. (Pl. XXXVb). Below, in the middle, is Lokeśvara, represented according to the iconographic type already known to us. At his left Vajrapāṇi; at his right a deity whose attributes are not quite visible, but which could be Yes-śes-mgon-po, namely, the yi-dam or tutelar divinity of the yellow sect. Above the central divinity, judging by its proportions bigger than those of other figures represented in the tsha-tsha, constitutes the centre or *gtso-bo* of the maṇḍala represented in the tsha-tsha, is Uṣṇīṣavijayā according to the type already described above (no. 123). To her right there is Amitābha in his usual attitude and to her left Tārā Śyamā. Around, in Tibetan script, there runs an inscription, partly illegible containing the mantras of various divinities *oṁ vajra oṁ ma(?) ṇi . . .*

No. 127. UGU. (Pl. XXXVIa). The tsha-tsha contains five small figures that may be identified in the following way, according to their attributes: above, Vajradhara (Rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ), with both hands crossed at the breast, out of which the right one could hold the vajra, and the left one the bell. In the second line, the left figure seems to be that of a monk wrapped in his robe and his head covered with *paṇ-chen zha-mo* or the hat of a pandit. On the left, with the legs in the ālīḍha posture, namely open towards right side, there is Bhairava (Ḥjigs-byed) with a buffalo head. He holds the vajra (rdo-rje) with the right hand and with the left keeps the cup made of a human skull. Below, on the right, Uṣṇiṣavijaya, Rnam-rgyal-ma, according to the iconographic type described above, and on the right (sic) Mahākāla, Mgon-po phyag-drug, represented therefore with six arms. The three hands on the right, beginning from above, seem to have the knife *(gri-gug)*, ḍamaru and the cintāmaṇi gem. The one on the left, also beginning from above, have the trident, hatchet and kapāla.

Around is an inscription which is almost completely illegible *ha ma dza na na.*

Nos. 128—131. BASGO, LEH, UPSHI. (Pl. XXXVIb). In the

shape of a trilobate leaf. In the middle, below, a stupa around which there are three figures, one for each side and one up. Each of them sits on a lotus flower, and is surrounded by a double circle of light. The left figure, below, represents Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Rnam-rgyal-ma, according to the iconographic type already given several times; on the right, instead, there is represented Sita Tārā, as she was already seen reproduced in nos. 108ff. Above is enthroned Amitābha in vajraparyaṅka in his usual attitude. On the left the sun, on the right the moon.

No. 132. KYELANG. The tsha-tsha is in terracotta. In the middle, below, the cintāmaṇi gem; on the right Mañjuśrī according to the type already described; on the left, surrounded by flames, there is Vajrapāṇi. Above, in a threefold circle of light, Lokeśvara, also according to the type described above. On the right the moon, on the left the sun.

Nos. 133, 134. TABO. Iconographic types of the represented divinities are similar to those of nos. 128, 131, but of rather bigger proportions.

Nos. 135, 135bis. STOK, KANAM. (Pl. XXXVII). In the middle, seated on a lotus flower, in vajraparyaṅka, is Amitābha in the pose of meditation (dhyāna-mudrā): on his palms keeps the kalaśa or mystic vase. All around, in the dress of a monk and seated on as many lotus flowers, there are ten small figures of Akṣobhya in vajraparyaṅka, with the right hand in the posture called bhūmisparśa-mudrā, while the left one holds the vajra. Behind each figure is drawn the circle of light. All around it are placed eight small figures of stupas(mchod-rten), which being all different among themselves, represent the eight most celebrated stupas, about which we had talked in the first part of this study. They all rest on a throne, are adorned with the usual flapping festoons. In the free space between the different figures, there are traces of letters: above, on the right . . . *li . . pu . . . pa . . . yu . . ni*

On the frame around there is an inscription, in an Indian script of the XII century, now almost unreadable: *ji . . . ni va li ya valiya ta . . . na nu pa ha na.* The entire walls of the small dgon-pa of Kanam, called the monastery of the Kanjur, where Csoma de Körös lived for several years, are literally covered by these tsha-tsha.

No. 136. TIKSE. (Pl. XXXVIII). Inside a frame represented by eight stupas(mchod-rten), which, since they are all different in shape, symbolize the eight kinds of caityas already spoken about, there are ten little figures of Buddha Śākyamuni. Out of them, the one above is of slightly bigger proportions than the others. Śākyamuni is seated on a lotus flower in the pose vajraparyaṅka, his left hand in the mudrā called bhūmi-sparśa, while the right one expresses the dhyāna-mudrā. Only the central figure holds in the left hand the alms-vessel *(piṇḍapātra, lhuṅ-bzed).* Possibly, the ten Buddhas here represent the great miracle of Śrāvastī, although in similar cases, the most common attitude of the Buddha is with his hands in dharmacakra-mudrā, the posture of preaching. All around there was an inscription in Tibetan script, which is almost completely erased *ha ha na sad . . . ma.*

(c) Guru and Siddha

No. 137. STOK PADMASAMBHAVA *(Pad-ma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas, Guru rin-po-che).* On a lotus flower the master is seated in vajraparyaṅka, wrapped in his robe. In his right hand he holds the vajra of five tips *(rdo-rje rtse-lṅa)* (1), and in his left the *kha-ṭaṁ-ga/ kha-tvaṁ-ga,* not very clear in its parts except for the trisula or trident, in which the very kha-ṭaṁ-ga ends. The three heads pierced on this macabre sceptre are, beginning from above, respectively: the *thod-pa skam* or the dried up skull, the *thod-pa rlon-pa,* with the flesh

still on it, and the *thod-pa rad-pa (bgrad-pa)* or dying one. Below there is the *rdo-rje-rgya-gram* or *sna-tshogs-rdo-rje,* namely a double vajra (viśvavajra) arranged so as to form a kind of cross. Around it flap bands of silk *(dar dpyaṅs)* bound to it. In the palm of his left hand he holds the kapāla, a cup made of a human skull which, full of blood or other substances, is used in exorcizing ceremonies and in the practices of *gcod.* On his ears there can be seen the ear-rings *(rna-cha)* that are the common characteristic of these siddhas or ascetics who have inspired a great part of the mystic literature of India and Tibet. They can be considered the authors of one of the most noticeable syncretistic movements known to India. The school of Gorakṣa and Matsyendranātha, still flourishing in India and connected with the sects to which Padmasambhava belonged, is called the sect of Kānphāṭ, namely of those of pierced ears. His head is covered with the hat of pandits.

No. 138. UGU. Id. Although the tsha-tsha is rather corroded, it shows a type identical with the preceeding one.

No. 139. MIRU. (Pl. XXXVIIIb). Id. Similar to the preceeding ones: all around it is the following inscription in Tibetan script: *oṁ vadzra gu ru pad ma si di hūṁ,* namely, *oṁ vajra-guru padma-siddhi hūṁ,* the mantra belonging to Padmasambhava.

No. 140. BASGO. (Pl. XXXIXa 1). TSOṄ-KHA-PA. The figure of the master sits in vajraparyaṅka on a lotus flower resting on a throne. He is in the attitude usually attributed to him, namely the one of preaching, dharmacakra-mudrā. On both sides there rise two lotuses. On the right one is the sword *(khaḍga, ral-gri),* and on the left one is the book of prajñā, both are symbols of Mañjuśrī. On his head there is the hat of pandits, *paṇ-chen-zha-mo.* Behind, the circle of light, *prabhā-maṇḍala.*

On both sides the two main disciples of the great reformer, namely Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen on the right, and Smra-baḥi-ñi-ma Dge-legs-dpal, both surrounded by the *prabhā-maṇḍala.* With their left hands they hold a book; their right hands express vitarka-mudrā, symbol of dialectical reasoning. The triad, while it represents the foundation of the new church, it also remembers the foundation of the three greatest monasteries of Lhasa: the one of Dgaḥ-ldan built by Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the one of Ḥbras-spuṅs built by Rgyal-tshab, and that of Sera built by the other disciple.

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(1) Known in Sanskrit as *pañcaśūla-vajra,* Guhyasamāja, p.15, line 6.

Above sun and moon, and below a vase full of flowers. Behind the figure of Tsoṅ-kha-pa there is a line of clouds. The model of tsha-tsha is evidently inspired by the painted one, often reproduced in thaṅ-ka or religious pictures connected with the cycle of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

No. 141. TIKSE. (Pl. XXXIXb). Id. Tsoṅ-kha-pa is seated on a padmāsana, resting on a throne siṁhāsana, in the mudrā and in the posture described above. The symbols are the same, with the only difference that here the light around the head of the saint is missing. On both sides two figures of monks stand in the usual attitude of veneration (añjali-mudrā).

No. 142. TIKSE. Id. The figure is reproduced as in the preceeding tsha-tsha, but there is no trace of a siṁhāsana. On the side, the usual two monks in añjali attitude. Above, on the right of his face: *oṁ;* on the left: *bla-ma-la namo,* namely, oṁ homage to the master.

No. 143. LEH. On a lotus flower there sits in vajraparyaṅka the figure of an ācarya in dharmacakra-mudrā, his head covered with a hat of pandits. Behind two flowers of lotus rise till the height of his shoulders. The one on the left of the saint serves as basis for a bell, ghaṇṭā, and on the one to his right rests a vajra. They are the symbols, as we have seen, of Rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ, Vajradhara, who, anyway, keeps them in his two hands crossed on his chest; just in his left the bell, and in his right the vajra(rdo-rje).

It should not be impossible that our figure represents a master of the school of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, which is considered inspired

by Vajradhara. But it seems that this identification is contradicted by the fact that the hat adopted by the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa is usually very different (from this one), and almost regular practice in the iconography of this school. One has also to keep in mind that vajra and ghaṇṭā have become instruments of cult which are indispensable in every Tantric and Lamaistic ceremony(1), and therefore their presence does not imply a necessary connection with Vajradhara and the school claiming its derivation from him.

The doubt is resolved by the following tsha-tsha.

No. 144. STOK (Pl. XLa). It is like the preceeding number, but the two symbols of the bell and the vajra are more evident. On the circle of light there is, on both sides, the usual fomula: *oṁ ā hūṁ.* All around the figure there is the inscription: *Vardza* (evidently a mistake for vajra). *śes-rab-bzaṅ-po-la na-mo,* namely, homage to Vajra-Śes rab-bzaṅ-po (Sanskrit: Vajra-prajñābhadra) (2).

For the type compare Grünwedel, *Obzor Sobraniya Predmetov Lamaiskago kulta ku. Z.Z. Ukhtomskago* part II, pl. 19, no. 1: Ṅag-dbaṅ-mchog-ldan.

Nos. 145, 146, 147. LEH. (Pl. XLb). Figure of SIDDHA. The ascetic apparently is naked and sits in the pose called ardha-paryaṅka, namely with the right leg folded till to press the penis with the heel, and with the left one kept back so that his foot will be at the same level as the right one. The *sgom-thag/yogapaṭṭa* (namely the band used till today in Tibet as by their ancient Indian masters) is clearly visible. It is bound around the neck or the waist, as in our case, and on the knee, in order to prevent the legs loosing their difficult posture mentioned above. When not seated in meditation, one carries this band slung over the shoulder. With the *sgom-chen,* of the school of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, it is of reddish colour

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(1) The vajra (rdo-rje) is hold in the right hand, and the ghaṇṭā in the left.

(2) He is quoted as interpreter of the "six laws" of Nāropā by Padma-dkar-po in his *Jo-bo nā-ro-paḥi khyad chos bsre-ḥphoḥi khrid rdo-rjeḥi-theg-par bgrod-paḥi śiṅ-rta-chen-po* folio 8

In his right hand he holds the skull, kapāla, and the left is raised in a mudrā which could be the tarjanī, namely that of threatening. The ascetic wears ear-rings as customary in many sects of the Siddha school and a kind of necklace which could be a *rus-rgyan,* namely one of the ornaments made out of human bones, sculpted and carved according to the custom followed even today by Tibetan ascetics. On his arm the armlets, put on the height of the elbow, are evidently visible. The Siddha seems to be seated under the shelter of a tree, although the stylization of the relief could not exclude the possibility that the artist could have wished to represent a grotto. Anyway, in Tibetan iconography, both Siddhas and *sgom-chen,* as ascetics are called, are indifferently represented either inside a cave, as for instance Milaraspa, or under a tree as symbol of a hermitage. On the left is a kalaśa or vase, out of which a big flower comes out, and in the background, on left and right, there are two lotus flowers. It is not impossible that our figure represents Tilopā or Nāropā. They are the first two Indian masters to whom, through the great translator Marpa, in his turn guru of Milaraspa, the sect of Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa is connected. But a sure determination is practically impossible, because the iconographic type of these siddhas is rather inexact and subjected to noticeable mutations. See, for example, for Tilopā, Grünwedel, *Mythologie,* fig. 30; Evans Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa,* Pl. I; Gründwedel, *Der Weg nach Śambhala,* pl. 4, to which it would be easy for me to add other types taken from xylographs in my possession.

III

IN THE SHAPE OF STUPA(MCHOD-RTEN)

No. 148. NAKO. (Pl. XLI). Placed along four lines, on the sides of the tsha-tsha there are 108 small figures of stupas(mchod-rten). And precisely, beginning from below: 32 in the first line, 30 in the second, 26 in the third, and 20 in the fourth. On the top, and in bigger proportions, there are other eight stupas(mchod-rten),

which represent the eight fundamental types of caityas, we have illustrated in the first part. The same types alternate regularly in the series of the 108 stupas covering the tsha-tsha. The central stupa (mchod-rten), with which the tsha-tsha culminates, likely represents the stupa called reconciliation, since it has eight sides as prescribed in the treatises we have studied. Below, between the round of lotus petals, forming all around the padmāsana, and th first line of small stupas (mchod-rten), there is an inscription i Tibetan script, containing the usual formula *ye dharmā* etc., and moreover: *Oṁ dza re ta sarva oṁ sthi te svāhā oṁ vajrā yu se svāhā.* We have already said above why the stupas (mchod-rten) represented here are 108.

No. 149. LEH. (Pl. XLIIa). Along the surface, there are represented 108 small stupas (mchod-rten), placed in four triangular groups and on four lines for each group. These will be, exactly, eight in the first line, six in the second, five in the third, for each side - that is to say: 104, and more four, one for each side of the central stupa (mchod-rten) with which the tsha-tsha culminates. It is impossible to distinguish whether all the stupas (mchod-rten) are of the same type or of different types. There is an inscription in Tibetan script: *A mun glaṅ-chen-po daṅ ñer-par traṅ a mu ye śe-rab daṅ ñer-pār traṅ a mu khyuṅ-pa, phuṅ-pa daṅ ñer-pār traṅ.* The meaning of these words is obscure to me; possibly there are three names.

No. 150. STOK. The big caitya with which this one culminates is surrounded by four smaller ones; which respectively seem to correspond to those of: "the great illumination", "of many doors" "descent from heaven", and "apeasement of the disputation". Below there is the inscription in Lan-tsa script *ye dharmā* etc.

No. 151. TABO. The same type as the preceding one, but slightly bigger. The inscription is in archaic Tibetan script and contains the usual credo, perhaps followed by a formula now unreadable.

No. 152. STOK. Similar to the preceding, but the central stupa (mchod-rten) is surrounded by eight caityas among which can be recognized the one of "the descent from heaven" and the one "of the many doors". Inscription in Lan-tsa script *ye dharmā...* etc., followed by another formula no longer readable.

No. 153, 154, 155. GYA, MULBEKH, PANGI. As the preceding type. Without inscriptions.

IV.

BON-PO TSHA-TSHA

No. 156. LEH. (Pl. XLIIb). Bon-po tsha-tsha. A divinity with tiara and ornaments sits in vajraparyaṅka on a lotus flower. His two hands, in dhyana-mudrā, hold on their palms a vase (*kumbha, kalaśa*) in the fashion in which generally Amitabha is represented. And, surely but for reason of the symbols I am going to talk about, one could not but accept that the figure in effect represents Amitabha. On both sides, there are two flowers, out of which the one on the right is clearly a lotus and the one on the left remains unclear to me. Under the lotus flower can be seen a svastikā, which however has its arms turned towards the left and not towards the right as is the rule in Buddhist representations. Even today, in Ladakh and in Tibet the *pradakṣiṇā,* or circumambulation around trees, or rocks or small temples (supposed refuge of ancient *sa-bdag* or local demons often preceding the introduction of Buddhism and survivals of the ancient Bon-po cult) is performed in the opposite direction than the one performed for the Buddhist sacred things. Therefore, the presence itself of this form of svastikā put us on the alert. And the suspicion becomes a certainty when one reads the inscription running around the image on the external border of the tsha-tsha, which says: *bsvo āom saṅs druṅ mu sa chuṅ (?) daṅ g. guṅ druṅ ga bu a ... tshe rna (?) za gu ra ya saṅs druṅ mu m...*

It is clear that this formula does not contain anything Buddhist. In the present state of our knowledge of the Bon-po religion, we cannot determine which one of the many divinities of the Bon-po

pantheon they wanted to represent on our tsha-tsha. But the fact is certain that the mantra transcribed above has elements which are characteristic of the Bon-po. I have examined three *pujā-praṇālī,* or liturgical manuals of the Bon-po, collected in my trips but I could not find in any of them formulas which are completely identical with ours. This can be explained by the fact that each group of divinities has, as in Buddhism, his/her proper formulas and it is impossible to believe that the entire liturgy of the Bon-po would be contained in three manuals.

But the fact remains that in the formulas that appear in some manuals, there are expressions and words which are not missing in our inscriptions. First of all, very many Bon-po mantras begin with the syllable *bsvo* and with the other, which I have transcribed *āom,* and this results to be made of a long ā, with the sign of *ḥ* inscribed below, plus the sign *o* inscribed above, and the *bindu.* It substitutes the simple *oṁ* of the Buddhist scriptures, never used in Bon-po liturgy. Out of the other words, *g. yuṅ-druṅ* is known to be the usual term for svastikā and a synonym of Bon, and the formula *druṅ mu* is characteristic of many mantras recited during a function described in the Bon-po liturgical treatise *Phyag len ltar gsaṅ-sṅags spyi spuṅs ḥgro lugs. zin-ris kha bkan,* for instance: *āom druṅ mu slas zi ḥdu khrom ta ya khron ta ya svāhā,* etc. fol. IIb12, etc. and: *se tsu druṅ muḥi sku* which is often found in the *Zhi-ba kun rgyal ḥdus-paḥi bsgrub.*

Possibly the name of the Divinity that was represented is Saṅs-druṅ-mu, but on it I am not yet able to give further information.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Tibetan texts on stupa (mchod-rten)

FIRST TEXT (1)

. . . lha las babs pai mc'od rten ni |
zas gtsaṅ rgyal pos groṅ k'yer ser skyar bžeṅs || 1
Ma ga dhá ru rgyal po ma skyes dgras |
byaṅ c'ub c'en poi mc'od rten brtsigs so lo || 2
groṅ k'yer rtsva mc'og tu ni gyad rnams kyis |
ts'o ạp'rul c'en poi mc'od rten brtsigs žes grags || 3
Va ra ṇa sir mi dbaṅ ts'aṅs byin gyis |
dga' ldan c'os kyi ạk'or loi mc'od rten brtsigs || 4
yaṅs pa can du li tsa vī gzon nus |
ka ni ka mc'od rten brtsigs žes zer || 5
mñan yod du rgyal c'en gsal rgyal gyis |
rgyal bai mc'od rten bkra šis sgo maṅ brtsigs || 6
ts'ad ger c'os rgyal šu nci da la yis |
dpal 'od can gyi mc'od rten brtsigs so skad || 7
ti ka tsa šir mc'od rten pad ma can |
sa c'en skyoṅ ba in dra va mis bžeṅs || 8
. . . .
de la cyaṅ c'ub c'en poi mc'od rten ni |
c'e c'uṅ ạdod tog nas dge bcui bar || 9

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(1) In: bDe bar gšegs pai sku gzugs kyi ts'ad kyi rab tu byed pa yid bžin gyi nor bu, folio 28a4.

bcu gñis c'a ru rnam par dbye ba dag |
c'a c'en yin te de dag re re yaṅ || 10
c'a bžir bgos pa c'a c'un žes skad do |
de nas dge bcui rmaṅ la c'a c'uṅ gcig || 11
baṅ rim bži po c'a c'uṅ gñis gñis te |
de steṅ bum rten la ni c'a c'uṅ gcig || 12
bum pai dpaṅs la c'a c'en gsum daṅ ni |
c'a c'uṅ gcig gi sum c'ar Bu ston bžed || 13
bre stan c'a c'uṅ gcig ste bre yi dpaṅs |
c'a c'uṅ gcig daṅ gcig gi sum gñis yin || 14
gdugs ạdegs pad mai dpaṅs su c'a c'uṅ gcig |
c'os ạk'or bcu gsum dpaṅs su c'a c'en bži || 15
t'ugs rje mdo gzuṅ[s] dpaṅs su c'a c'uṅ gcig |
gdugs daṅ gdugs k'ebs c'a c'uṅ p'yed p'yed yin || 16
de steṅ zla ba c'a c'uṅ gcig yin te |
ñi mai dkyil ạk'or c'a c'uṅ gñis su bšad || 17
tog gi dpaṅs ni c'a c'uṅ gcig yin te |
des ni srid kyi ts'ad kyaṅ rtogs par ạgyur || 18
de nas rgyar ni ts' aṅs t'ig γyas γyon du |
dge bcu p'yed bcas c'a c'uṅ bcu gñis re || 19
bsdoms pas c'a c'uṅ ñi šu rtsa lṅa o |
baṅ rim daṅ po la ni γyas γyon du || 20
c'a p'ran re re bsdoms pas c'a c'en drug |
baṅ rim lhag ma gsum rgyar γyas γyon du || 21
c'a c'uṅ re re rim bžin bri bar bya |
de steṅ bum rten (1) rgyar ni γyas γyon du || 22
c'a c'uṅ p'yed dgu bsdoms pas bcu bdun no |
bum pai rtsa bai rgyar ni γyas γyon du || 23
c'a c'en gñis gñis yin te yar ạp'el bas |
stod kyi c'a c'uṅ dgu pai t'ad kyi rgyar || 24
γyas γyon bsdoms la c'a c'uṅ bcu brgyad (2) ste |
de lhag bum stod c'a c'uṅ gñis daṅ ni || 25

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(1) xyl.: ston.
(2) xyl.: p'rag.

c'a c'uṅ gcig gi sum car bcas pai dpaṅs |
bags kyis zlum pas rtsa bai rgya daṅ mñam || 26
de steṅ bre stan rgya la γyas γyou du |
c'a c'uṅ gñis las bcu c'a dor bas dgu || 27
bre la p'yogs rer c'a c'uṅ gñis gñis daṅ |
bži c'a re re bsdoms pa bre yi rgya || 28
c'a c'en gcig daṅ c'a p'ran p'yed yin no |
de ltar baṅ rim daṅ poi rgya k'yon daṅ || 29
baṅ rim de nas bre rtse maṅ c'ad mñam
c'a c'en drug ste c'a c'uṅ ñer bži ste || 30
de la mc'od rten c'u žeṅ gab ces bya |
baṅ rim bži pai šar daṅ lho ṅos la || 31
gsal k'uṅ baṅ rim de yi brgyad c'a bya |
srog šiṅ baṅ rim bži par zug pa'o || 32
gdugs ạdegs pad mai rtsa bar c'a c'uṅ gñis |
stan (1) rgya γyas γyon c'a c'uñ gñis gñis so || 33
ạk'or lo daṅ poi rgya la γyas γyon du |
c'a c'uṅ p'yed daṅ gsum ste dril bas lṅa || 34
gdugs daṅ poi rgyar c'a c'uṅ gsum gsum ste |
bsdoms pas drug yin zlum bskor bco brgyad do || 35
ạk'or lo bcu gsum pa ni γyas γyon du |
c'a c'uṅ gcig gi bži gsum bži gsum ste || 36
dril bas t'ad kar c'a c'uṅ p'yed daṅ gñis |
mt'a' skor du ni c'a c'uṅ p'yed daṅ lṅa || 37
de gñis bar gyi ạk'or lo bcu goig go |
rim gyis je p'ra je p'rar gyur pa ste || 38
bcu gsum gdugs kyi rtse moi γyas γyon gyi |
p'yed p'yed mts'ams nas t'ig gis legs draṅs pa || 39
ạk'or lo daṅ poi rtser ạt' en ạk'or bai rgya |
gdugs daṅ po nas t'ig graṅs bcu gsum pai || 40
rtser ạt'en pa de bcu gsum gdugs rgyai ts'ad |
de steṅ t'ugs rjei mdo gzuṅ[s] rtsa bai rgya || 41
ạk'or lo bcu gsum pa daṅ mñam pa la |
smad du bži gsum dpaṅs ni ạjam po ñid || 42

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(1) xyl.: steṅ.

c'uṅ zad γyel bai stod du bži c'a gcig |
u tpal ạdab ạdrai sul ni bcu drug bya || 43
gdugs rgya ạk'or lo bdun pa daṅ mñam pa |
gdugs k'ebs ạkor lo drug pai rgya daṅ mñam || 44
za ra ts'ags kyi dpaṅs daṅ bre dpaṅs mnam |
zla bai rtse gñis bgrad pa gdugs daṅ mñam || 45
ñi ma c'a c'uṅ gcig gis zlum por bskor |
tog rgya γyas γyon c'a p'ran p'yed p'yed do || 46
ñi zla tog gi zur la bya bsruṅ p'yir |
lcags t'ur rnon po maṅ po gzer pa bšad || 47
tog ni ser po ñi ma dmar po ste |
zla ba rab dkar gdugs k'ebs dkar po'o || 48
gdugs ni sṅon po yin te dei p'yogs bžir |
rigs bžii p'yag legs par ạbri (1) bar bšad || 49
t'ugs rjei sul ni k'a dog dmar po ste |
t'ugs rje ñid daṅ šes bcu ser po'o || 50
srog šiṅ dmar po mc'od rten dkar po'o |
dge bcu ser po rmaṅ daṅ rmaṅ rten ni || 51
ljaṅ gur lhan cig skyes pai rol pa bžed |
rgyal bai mc'od rten mts'uṅs med de ạdra daṅ || 52
lha bcas bla ma la 'os seṅ gei k'ri |
jil tar bšam pai ts'ul yaṅ ạdir smra ba || 53
sku la mt'o gaṅ bžir p'ye c'a c'uṅ bya |
de nas sa ạdsin dpaṅs su c'a c'uṅ gsum || 54
t'em skas gsum la c'a c'uṅ re re bya |
gdoṅ c'en la ni c'a c'en p'yed daṅ gñis || 55
gzuṅ sne daṅ ni bad c'uṅ c'a p'ran re |
ba gam la ni c'a c'uṅ gñis bya ste || 56
rmaṅ rten mt'o ba bzaṅ la rgya ts'ad ni |
sa ạdsin γyas γyon c'a c'uṅ ñer gcig ste || 57
t'em skas gsum la mas rim γyas γyon du |
c'a c'uṅ bcu dgu bcu bdun bco lṅar bšad || 58
gdoṅ c'en mts'o la c'a c'uṅ bcu gsum re |
ba gam gsum la mas rim γyas γyon du || 59

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(1) xyl: ạdri: but in the text of Sahajavilāsa p'yag rgya bri'o.

c'a c'uṅ bcu bži bco lṅa bcu drug go |
ạdi dag gdan k'rii ts'ad yin de yi p'yir || 60
mc'od rten rnams daṅ rgyal bai sku gzugs kyi |
t'ig k'oṅs su ni brtsi bar mi bya'o || 61
da ni t'ig c'en ạdi ñid gžir byas nas |
mc'od rten bdun gyi rnam bdye mdo ts'am bšad || 62
de yaṅ baṅ rim bži po gsum du sbrel |
gsum ga dge bcu daṅ zlum por bya || 63
de la rnam rgyal mc'od rten žes grags te |
lhag ma t'ams cad sṅar bžin šes par bya || 64
pad ma spuṅs pa žes byai mc'od rten ni |
baṅ rim bži zlum pad ris bris pa'o || 65
dpal ldan bkra šis sgo maṅ mc'od rten ni |
baṅ rim gru bžii sum c'a ạbur dod bya || 66
sgo maṅ maṅ ñuṅ ci ạdod bya bar snaṅ |
la la sgo maṅ glo ạbur med pa'ṅ ạdod || 67
lha babs mc'od rten baṅ rim gru bži bai |
raṅ raṅ sum c'a dbus su ạbur ạdod kyaṅ || 68
de steṅ skas gsum bsgrigs nas btsugs pa'o |
ạdi yi skas gsum p'ud de gžan ạdra ba || 69
de la ts'o ạp'rul c'en poi mc'od rten lo |
myaṅ ạdas mc'od rten baṅ rim bži med pa || 70
dge bcui steṅ du bum rten bžag pa'o |
dge ạdun dbyen bzlums žes byai mc'od rten ni || 71
mc'od rten byaṅ c'ub c'en poi baṅ rim bžii |
zur bži bcad de ṅos brgyad mñam par bya || 72
kun kyaṅ lhag ma bšad zin las šes bya |
rgyal bai mc'od rten de dag gaṅ bžeṅ yaṅ || 73
sa ạdsin zur bžir rdo riṅ bži bya ste |
re re'ṅ žeṅ la c'a c'uṅ gñis gñis daṅ || 74
dkyus la c'a c'en gñis bya de steṅ du |
rdo seṅ k'a p'yir bltas pai mgul pa la || 75
gdugs 'og nas draṅs me tog ạp'reṅ ba btags |
sa ạdsin p'yogs bžir t'em skas bži bya'o || 76
gdugs daṅ rgyal mts'an ba dan la sogs daṅ |
gser dril γyer k'ai dra ba kun tu bkram || 77

SECOND TEXT (1)

Daṅ po sku bltams pai t'se gter lṅa brgya sogs dge mts'an du ma byuṅ bas bkra šis ạbyuṅ ba'm žabs kyis gom pa bdun bor bar padma byuṅ ba sogs daṅ ạbrel bar pad spuṅs dbyibs zlum po padmai rnam pa can baṅ rim bži pa'm bdun brgyad du 'ṇ bšad pa padma daṅ ạk'or los gras pa ser skyar lu mbii ts'al du Zas gtsaṅ sogs kyis bžeṅs pai pad spuṅs mc'od rten | gñis pa rgyal poi k'ab tu mṅon par byaṅ c'ub pai dus dbyibs gru bži baṅ rim bži pa gzugs can sñin po sogs kyis bžeṅs pai byaṅ c'ub c'en mc'od rten | gsum pa Va ra ṇā sir c'os k'or bskor bai ts'e gru bži baṅ rim bži pa glo ạbur daṅ bcas pa sgo rab brgya rtsa brgyad ạbriṅ lṅa drug t'a ma bcu drug par yoṅs grasg bžed kyaṅ p'yogs rer sgo bžir byed pa bden pa bži brgyad re byed pa rnam t'ar brgyad bcu gñis su byed pa rten ạbrel bcu gñis bcu drug tu byed pa stoṅ ñid bcu drug mts'on pa lṅa sde bzaṅ pos bžeṅs pai bkra šis sgo maṅ mc'od rten | bži pa mñan yod du ts'o ạp'rul bstan pai ts'e gru bži baṅ rim bži pa p'yogs rer glo ạbur daṅ bcas pa li ca byi sogs kyis Je tai ts'al du bžeṅs pai mu stegs p'am byed dam ts'o ạp'rul mc'od rten | lṅa ba gnas laṅs pa can gsal ldan du lhai dbyar gnas mdsad yum la c'os gsuṅs sṅa dro dge gaṅ bye mdsad p'yi dro nam mk'a' las babs nas p'ebs dus baṅ rim bži pa'm brgyad pa ṅos rer glo ạbur daṅ bcas pai glo ạbur gyi dbus na t'em skas yod pa gsal ldan pa dad pa can rnams kyis bžeṅs pai lha babs sam yaṅ na sum cu rtsa gsum lhai mc'od rten du grags pa'o | drug pa rgyal poi k'ab tu lhas byin gyis dge ạdun dbyan byas pa mc'og zuṅ gis bsdums pai dus baṅ rim bži pa gru bži zur bži mñam par bcad pa'o | rgyal byed sogs ma ga dha pas bžeṅs pai 'od zer can nam byams ṅos kyaṅ žes dben bsdums mc'od rten | bdun pa yaṅs pa can du sku ts'e zla ba gsum byin gyis brlabs pai ts'e zlum po baṅ rim gsum pa dei groṅ k'yer pa rnams kyis bžeṅs pa'm yaṅ na ạga' žig tu lhas brtsigs par bžed pai byin brlabs sam rnam rgyal mc'od rten | brgyad pa rtsva mc'og gi groṅ du mya ṅan las ạdas pai ts'e baṅ rim med pa gdan k'rii steṅ du bum rten yaṅ c'ad bžugs pa rtsva can gyi gyad rnams kyis brtsigs pai mya ṅan ạdas mc'od rten de las sku gduṅ c'a brgyad du bgos pai mc'od rten c'en po brgyad rus ts'ig pai mc'od rten ma ts'ig pai mc'od rten sol bai mc'od rten žes cu gcig | (ESEMPIO: pad-spuṅs | 291 *b* 1, 12) de (sc. ba gam) yan bcu gñis su bye ba c'a c'en | de rer bžir bye ba c'a c'uṅ gi t'a sñad la byas la dge bcu la c'a c'uṅ gcig baṅ rim bži la bad c'uṅ c'a c'uṅ p'yed de k'oṅs su gtogs pai rer c'a c'uṅ gñis gñis daṅ bum rten padma can la c'a c'uṅ gcig bum dpaṅs c'a c'en gsum daṅ c'a c'uṅ gcig daṅ gcig gi sum c'a gcig | bre gdan gyi rmaṅ la c'a c'uṅ gcig gi sum c'a gcig daṅ ṅo bo sum c'a gñis te dril bas c'a c'uṅ gcig bre la c'a c'uṅ gcig daṅ gcig gi sum gñis | gdugs ạdegs pai pad mai dpaṅs la c'a c'uṅ gcig | c'os ạk'or gdugs kyi dpaṅs rer c'a c'uṅ re daṅ dei bcu gsum c'a re | de la sum c'ar p'ye bai c'a gñis gdusg sam p'o ạk'or daṅ | sum c'a gcig la mo ạk'or k'yon dpaṅs su c'a c'en gsum daṅ c'a c'uṅ gñis | t'ugs rje mdo gzuṅs dpaṅs su c'a c'uṅ gcig | gdugs c'a c'uṅ p'yed daṅ gdugs k'ebs c'a cuṅ p'yed gñis yin | de steṅ zla ba la c'a c'uṅ gcig daṅ ñi mai dkyil ạk'or c'a c'uṅ gñis | t'og la c'a c'uṅ gcig | žeṅ du ts'aṅs t'ig nas γyas γyon du dge bcu c'a c'uṅ bcu bžir bsdoms pas c'a c'uṅ ñi šu rtsa brgyad | baṅ rim daṅ po ni γyas γyon du c'a p'ran bcu gsum re bsdoms pas c'a c'un ñi šu rtsa drug | baṅ rim lhag ma gsum rgyar γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ re re rim bžin c'uṅ baṅ rim bži gai bad c'uṅ rnams c'a c'uṅ gi bži c'a re t'ol la ạdon | de steṅ bum rten rgyar γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ dgu re re bsdoms pas bco brgyad | bum pai rtsa bai rgyar γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ brgyad re de nas yar je ạp'el gi steṅ c'a brgyad pa nas bcu pai bar t'ad kyi rgyar γyas γyon bsdoms pas c'a c'uṅ ñi šu rtsa gcig | de lhag bum stod c'a c'uṅ gsum daṅ sum c'a gcig bcas pai dpaṅs rim gyis zlum pas rtsa bai rgya daṅ rtse mñam pa | de ltar baṅ rim daṅ poi rgya k'yon daṅ baṅ rim dei mas de nas gdugs ạdegs kyi las man c'ad mñam ste | c'a c'en drug c'a c'uṅ gñis | naṅ

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(1) From *Vaiḍūrya g.ya' sel.* folio 290b6.

k'oṅ saṅ gi dbaṅ btaṅ na baṅ rim bži pai p'yogs sar daṅ lho ṅos la mun ba bsal byai gsal k'uṅ ni baṅ rim de yi brgyad c'a bya | srog šiṅ baṅ rim bži par zug pa ạt'ad | bre stan rmaṅ la rtsa t'ig nas p'yogs rer c'a c'uṅ gñis daṅ bcu c'a dgu de sten bre stan la c'a c'uṅ gñis | bre la rtsa t'ig nas p'yogs rer c'a c'uṅ gñis daṅ gcig gi sum c'a gñis re | gdugs ạdegs pad mai rtsa bar c'a c'uṅ p'yed gñis steṅ gi rgya γyas γyon c'a c'uṅ gñis gñis ạk'or lo daṅ poi rgya la γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ p'yed daṅ gsum ste bsgril bas lṅa gdugs gdaṅ poi rgya la c'a c'uṅ gñis daṅ sum c'a gñis te | bsdoms pas c'a c'uṅ lṅa daṅ sum c'a gcig | ạk'or lo bcu gsum pa γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ p'yed daṅ c'a c'uṅ gi brgyad c'a gcig | bsgril bas t'a dkar c'a c'uṅ gcig daṅ bži c'a gcig | mt'a' skor du c'a c'uṅ gsum daṅ bži c'a gsum | de gñis bar gyi ạk'or lo bcu gcig po rim gyis je p'rar gyur pa de yaṅ ạk'or lo bcu gsum pai yas mt'a' nas daṅ poi mas mt'ar t'ig skud bzuṅ bai t'ig btab pas rtogs | rtse moi gdugs ts' aṅs t'ig gi γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ gcig gi sum c'a gñis re | gdugs bcu gsum pai steṅ ts'ad de nas gdugs daṅ poi mas mt'a' ste bzuṅ t'ig btaṅ bas gdugs gžan rnams kyi ts'ad rtogs | de steṅ t'ugs rje mdo gzuṅs rtsa bai rgya ạk'or lo bcu gsum pa daṅ mñam | dpaṅs ni ạdsom pa ñid cuṅ zad γyel bai steṅ rtsa t'ig nas c'a p'ran re | sul bcu drug gtugs kyi rgya ts'aṅs t'ig gi γyas γyon du c'a p'ran p'yed gñis daṅ brgyad c'a gsum | gdugs k'ebs kyi rtsa ba ts'aṅs t'ig nas γyas γyon du c'a p'ran p'yed bži c'a gcig | rtse moi rgya ts' aṅs t'ig nas γyas γyon du c'a p'ran gñis re za ra ts'ags dpaṅs la c'a p'ran p'yed gsum las žeṅ ts'aṅs t'ig nas γyas γyon c'a p'ran gsum re | stod gdugs daṅ mñam | zla bai rtse gñis bsgrad pa ts'aṅs t'ig nas c'a p'ran gñis re | rtsa ba dpaṅs naṅ ạdra ba c'a p'ran re | ñi ma ts'aṅs ts'ig nas γyas γyon steṅ 'og tu c'a c'uṅ gcig gis zlum por bskor | tog gi rgya γyos γyon du c'a p'ran p'yed p'yed ñi zla daṅ tog gi zur bya bsruṅ bai lcags kyi t'ur ma rnon po maṅ po gzer | mdog tog ser po ñi ma dmar po zla ba daṅ gdugs k'ebs rnams dkar po | gdugs sṅon po | dei p'yogs bžir raṅ raṅ rigs bži p'yag rgya'n ạbri (1) bar bsad | t'ugs rjei sul

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(1) xyl. ạdri.

gyi k'a dog dmar po t'ugs rje sei po c'os ạk'or gyi p'o ạk'or ser po | mo ạk'or daṅ srog šiṅ dmar po mc'od rten dkar po | gdugs ạdegs sṅon po dge bcu ser po sa ạdsin ljaṅ gu | t'em skas gsum mas nas dmar sṅo ser seṅ k'rid kar po gzuṅ sne sṅon po bad c'uṅ dmar po bad c'en ljaṅ gur dya | de nas sa ạdsin gyi dpaṅs su c'a c'uṅ gsum t'am skas gsum la c'a c'uṅ re re | gdon c'en la c'a c'en gcig daṅ c'a c'uṅ gñis gzuṅ sne daṅ bad c'uṅ la c'a p'ran re | bad c'en la c'a c'uṅ gñis žeṅ sa ạdsin γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ p'yed bcas bcu dgu re daṅ t'em skas daṅ por γyas γyon du p'yed bcas bcu bdun | gñis pai gyas gyon du bcu drug | gsum pai γyas γyon du p'yed bcas bcu bžir bšad gdoṅ c'en gyi γyan γyon du c'a c'un bcu gsum re | gzuṅ sne bad c'uṅ bad c'en gsum la mas rim γyas γyon du c'a c'uṅ bcu bži bco lṅa bcu drug.

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST TEXT

The stupa "of the descent (from heaven) of gods" was constructed by king Śuddhodana in Kapilavastu[1]. The stupa "of grand illumination" was erected in (the kingdom of) Magadha (1) by king Ajātasatru [2]. The stupa "of the grand miracle" *(mahāpratiharya)* was constructed by the Mallas in the city of Kuśanagara; as it has been handed down [3]. The stupa "of the wheel of blessed Law "*(dharmacakra)* was constructed in Benares by prince Brahmadatta (2)[4]. The stupa "Kanika" was erected in Vaiśālī by the prince of the Licchavīs. So it is said [5]. The stupa "of Victorious One" called also the auspicious (stupa) of many doors was built in Srāvasti by the great king Prasenajit [6]. The noble luminous stupa was constructed in Tshad-ge by the king of the Law: Śuncidala (3) [7]. The lotus-shaped stupa was erected by Indravāmi (corr.

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(1) According to the text attributed to Sahajavilāsa: "in the garden of Anātha[piṇḍaḍa]".

(2) Id. *Ser-skyaḥi rgyal-po Tshaṅs-byin,* Brahmadatta, king of Kapilavastu.

(3) Id. *rgyal-po Ḥdun-ḥdzin ta-las: Ḥdun-ḥdzin* , could be *rucidhara* in which case *ta la* could be considered as a transcription of *dhara* regularly translated by

Indrasvāmin) the protector of a great land in Ti-ka-ca-ṣi. Among these if we took the stupa of the grand illumination, either big or small, and we divide it from the "pinnacle" to "the ten meritorious deeds" in twelve (equal) parts (each of these) constitute a module (1). And if (in its turn) each of these parts is subdivided in four equal parts, each of these constitute a quarter of module(2); therefore a quarter has to be taken as a measure of the base (constituted by) "the ten meritorious deeds" [11].

Each of the four bases has to be two quarters high.

The base of the pentola which rests on them has to be a quarter[12].

Bu-ston has said that the height of the pentola has to be of three modules plus a third of a quarter. The "seat" of the staio *(droṇa)* has to be a quarter and the staio a quarter and two-thirds [14].

A quarter is for the height of the "lotus" (forming the base) of the upper portion of the "umbrella" and four modules for the thirteen "wheels of the Law" (in total 16 quarters) [15]. A quarter for "the formula of compasssion" and half a quarter for the umbrella as well as for the cover of the umbrella [16].

Above these there is the moon of the height of a quarter; the circle of the sun is said to be two-fourths [17].

The height of the pinnacle is a quarter. On the basis of this system one has to imagine also the proportions of the [total] height [18].

Therefore as regards the width, the "ten meritorious deeds" both to the left and to the right of the axis have to be twelve quarters and a half in each direction [19]; therefore, in total twentyfive [20a]

The first base to the right and to the left is of as many quarters for each side as many in total give a width of six modules (twentyfour quarters). For with regard to the width of the other three bases, to right and to left, the quarters for each have to be inscribed according to the progressions indicated [22a]. Above them the width, to right and to left, of the "basis" of the pentola is of eight quarters and a half, in total seventeen quarters. The width, to right and to left, of the pentola, at its basis, is of two modules (eight quarters) each side and since it extends towards the height the width of the upper part is in straight line of nine quarters both to the right and to the left; in total eighteen quarters [25a]. Besides these, the other upper part of the pentola has a height of two quarters plus three-fourth and therefore progressively rounding off becomes equal to the width of the base [26].

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(1) Literally: big part.

(2) Literally: small part.

The width of the "seat" of the staio at [rest] on that both to the right and to the left is two quarters plus nine-tenths. For each side of the staio two quarters plus one-fourth (of a quarter) in total the width of the staio is a module plus half a quarter. In this way the total width of the first step is equal to the distance that passes between this base till below the summit of the staio, that is, six modules or twentyfour quarters [30].

In the eastern or southeren side of the fourth base has to be made a small window called "the symmetric stupa (mchod-rten)" which is an eighth part of that very base. The soul of wood is inserted on the fourth base. The root of the lotus (on which its rests) the height of the umbrella is two-quarters; the width of the basement to the right and left is two quarters [33].

The width of the first wheel both right and left is two quarters and a half, that is, in total five quarters. The width of the first umbrella is three quarters each side, that is in total six quarters. The circumference is eighteen (1). The width of the thirteenth wheel to right and left is three-fourth a quarter [36]. Therefore its diameter is in total a quarter and a half, and its circumference four quarters and a half [37].

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(1) This gives $\pi=3$; but it does not mean that such equivalents are admitted by Tibetan mathematicians. Also Erone of Alexandria considered $\pi=3$ in his architectonic calculus, and that for better convenience. But a more exact approximation of π was known both to the Chinese as well as to the Indians and it is therefore logical to suppose that the Tibetans, who derived so much from both cultures, would not ignore that approximation.

Between these two (namely the first and the last) there are eleven wheels which progressively and successively go on decreasing (1) [38].

From the edge of the two half of right and left of the top of the thirteenth wheel (2) one should draw a straight line till the top of the first wheel and in this way one has the width of the (intermediary) wheels. There from the first umbrella draw a line till the top of the thirteenth umbrella and in this way one will have the measure of the width of the thirteenth umbrella. As for the width of the "formula of compassion" that (rests) on those (thirteen wheels) is equal to the thirteenth wheel, that is in its lower part it is three-fourth of a quarter and in height is polished; since it goes decreasing above it is one-fourth of a quartor. This will be done in sixteen folds in the form of lotus leaves (3) [43].

The width of the umbrella is equal to that of the seventh wheel. The cover of the umbrella is equal in width to the sixth wheel [44].

The height of the rim (4) is equal to the height of the staio, while the divarication of the two points of the moon is equal to the sixth umbrella [45].

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(1) It is to be noted that the width of the 13th umbrella is not given though it would be necessary to know it to ascertain proportions of the others.

(2) It is necessary to read like this instead of umbrella that is in the text.

(3) This implies, as could be inferred from G.yaḥ-sel, that the "folds" done as lotus-leaves cover only one part and the other part, the lower, is polished.

(4) *Za-ra-tshags* is not recorded in dictionaries; probably for *zar. zar-bu+tshags; zar-bu* is "ornaments" and *tshags* is "net, cage, basket". That this is an external application is demonstrated by the fact that it is not spoken of when the height of the various parts of the stupa (mchod-rten) are determined. To judge from the examples that I have seen of them and which correspond perfectly

The sun is circular with a ray of a quarter; the pinnacle is half a quarter for each side to the right and left [46].

In the corner of the conjunction of sun and moon with the pinnacle it is said that many pointed small rods of iron have to be inserted with the object of protecting the monument from birds [47].

The pinnacles have to be of yellow colour, the sun red and the moon very white, the cover of the umbrella white [48].

The umbrella has to be blue and on its four sides have to be drawn nicely the symbols (mudrā) of the four heavenly families(1); so it is said [49].

The "folding" on "compassion" must be of red colour, while the "compassion" and the "ten mystical sciences" have to be yellow(2) [50].

The soul of the wood is red and the stupa white; the ten meritorious deeds yellow: both the basis and its sustainer green. So said the master Lhan-gcig-skyes-paḥi-rol-pa (Sahajavilāsa). Now will be explained the way to prepare the lion-throne (siṁhāsana) that is convenient to this incomparable stupa of the Victorious and to the Lamas together with the gods [52].

One takes as measure one-fourth of a module which is used for the figure (of the stupa/mchod-rten), therefore the height of the "basis" has to be of three quarters [54].

Each of the three "steps" be a quarter high; the "great face" will be a module and a half high [55].

The fringe and collar a quarter each; the frame has to be of two quarters [56].

As to the height of the sustainer of the basis be exact [according to established proportions], the measure of the width has to be as follows: the base to the right and the left (of the axis) should be twentyone quarters wide; the three stairs progressively starting from below (and respectively) to the right and the left of the axis nineteen, seventeen and fifteen quarters.

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(1) Namely the four principal divinities, each corresponding to a direction: Ratnasambhava=south, Amitābha=west, Amoghasiddhi=

With respect to the "lake" of the "great face"(1) the width is thirteen quarters each side: the three frames, starting from below, to the right and to the left of the axis, should be fourteen, fifteen, sixteen quarters wide respectively. These are the measures of the throne, therefore these have not to be included among those of the stupa or of the figure of the Victorious [61].

Taking these main proportions as foundation now would be explained in a summary way the differences (characteristics) of the other seven types of stupas [62].

When this same type (now described) possesses three orders or four steps and all three have the "ten meritorious deeds" (and all this structure be) roundish there is the stupa of the "Victorious" All the rest has to be understood as that what has been said before [64].

The stupa called "accumulation of lotuses" has the four steps circular, all decorated with lotus designs [65].

The stupa "glorious and auspicious of many doors" is supposed to have a relief for a third of the squared step [66]. The doors may be many or few, as you like; according to some the stupa of many doors is without reliefs [67].

The stupa of "the descent from heaven of the gods" has square steps; in the middle for a third [of the width] of each [step] there is a relief in which are planted five steps in order; if these three steps are eliminated and for the rest it is left equal to the other [69], the stupa of the great miracle is obtained. The stupa of nirvana is without the four big steps and the basis of the pentola rests on the "ten meritorious deeds". The stupa of "pacification of the dispute" of the monks is as the stupa of the great illumination that the four corners of the four big steps are cut in such a way that they result in eight sides [72].

All the rest has to be understood from what has been said.

With respect to the construction of these stupas of the Victorious (one has to add that) to the fourth corner of the basis should

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(1) That is the surface included between the basis and the coping of the "throne"

be done four pillasters, each of which has to be two quarters wide [73].

Its length is of two modules: above them there is the mouth of a lion in stone which looks outside and on whose neck is bound a garland of flowers that hang from below the umbrella. At the four sides of the basis one has to do four steps, and has to put on it the umbrella, the standard, the insignia, etc. and the small bell of gold and festoons of tinkling bells [77].

TRANSLATION OF THE SECOND TEXT

The first is the stupa of the "accumulated lotuses", which was built by Śuddhodana in the garden of Lumbinī in Kapilavastu when (Śakyamuni) was born. Then a favourable event happened, since various signs were manifested, like the appearance of five hundred treasures etc. (announcing in advance) a meritorious event or, also was formed an accumulation of lotuses, because lotuses arose to the pacing of the seven steps (of the newborn divine baby).

It is of the form of a globe, similar to a lotus and has to have four or seven or eight big steps and has to be bordered by (figures of) wheels and of lotuses. Thus it is transmitted.

The second is called the stupa of the "great illumination" and was constructed by Bimbisāra etc. in Rājagṛha at the time of the full illumination. With respect to form it is square and has four big steps.

The third was erected in Banaras by the five Bhadravargīyas(1) and is called the "auspicious stupa of many doors". It is known that it was founded at the time of the first sermon (*dharmacakra-pravartana*): it is square and has 108 doors in relief as maximum number, 56 as medium number and 16 as minimum number. Furthermore, if there are four doors for each side, they represent the four truths, if they are eight the eight liberations, if they are twelve the twelve causal links, if sixteen the sixteen gradations of the void(1).

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(1) They are known in Hīnayāna and Pali sources by the name of *Pañcavaggiya*.

The fourth was erected by the Licchavīs etc. at Śrāvastī in the garden of Jeta when the Buddha showed the great miracle. It is square: has four big steps and has four reliefs on each side. It is called the stupa of the "submission of the heretics" or the stupa "of the great miracle"(2).

The fifth was erected at Sāṅkāśya by the devotees of Sāṅkāśya (in order to commemorate the following miracle). The Buddha preached the Law to his mother who while among the gods practised the summer rite, and after having explained to her in the morning what is meritorious, and in the afternoon came to earth, descending from heaven. It has four or eight steps and on every side has a relief in the middle of which there is a stair. It is known as the "stupa of the descent from the heaven of the gods" or of the "thirtythree gods (Trayastriṁśa)"(3).

The sixth was built by Jeta and others of Magadha in Rājagṛha when Devadatta caused the quarrel of the monks and reconciliation was made by Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. It is square, with four big steps equally cut. It is called the "shining stupa" or "of piety" or also "of the reconciliation of the quarrel"(4).

The seventh was erected in Vaiśālī by the inhabitants of that town, or according to other sources, it is said to be a divine construction. It was built when He (the Buddha) granted the grace to remain in person on earth for three months more(5). It is circular and has three steps: it is known as "the stupa of grace" or of the "Victorious".

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(1) On this symbolism see above.

(2) See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p.33; Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara* I(1905).534; and *Journal Asiatique* 1909 Jan.Feb.

(3) Kern, p.33.

(4) Kern, p.39.

(5) Kern, p.42.

The eighth was built in Kuśanagara by the Mallas of Kusanagara. It is erected without steps and above the throne rests the base of the pentola. It is "the stupa of nirvaṇa".

Besides these there are the eight great stupas containing the relics divided in eight parts: the stupa containing the cremated relics, the stupa containing the unburnt relics, and the stupa containing the coals. Thus listed are the so-called eleven stupas(1).

(Example: "stupas of the accumulated lotuses"). The whole part above the frame (of the throne) has to be divided into twelve modules. Each of these is subdivided into four parts which are taken as quarter for the measure of the proportions of the various parts of the stupa. The "ten meritorious deeds" are a quarter in height: the collar of the four steps half quarter (each); each of the [steps] included among them are two quarters. For the basis of ~~the~~ sustainer of the pentola, which must be lotus-shaped, a quarter; the height of the pentola is of three modules plus one quarter and one-third of a quarter; the base of the seat of the staio is a third of a quarter high, while the very seat is two-thirds, and this gives a quarter.

The staio is a quarter and two-thirds high. The height of the lotus serving as base to the elevation of the umbrellas is a quarter; the height of the umbrella and the wheel of the Law is a quarter each. Therefore in total thirteen quarters (that is as much as the wheels and the umbrellas).

If each one of these quarters is divided in three parts, two of them represent the umbrella or the "male wheel" and one the "female wheel" In total, the elevation of the umbrellas is of three modules and two quarters.

The height of the "formula of compassion" is a quarter; the umbrella is of half a quarter and the cover of an umbrella a quarter and a half. Above that there is the moon, of a quarter and the

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(1) The tradition of the eleven stupas(mchod-rten) appears also in China. See *Bukkyō Dayıten* s.v.

"circle of the sun" which is two quarters. For the pinnacles a quarter.

Passing on to the width, the "ten meritorious deeds", both to the right and to the left of the axis, are fourteen quarters wide, namely a total of twentyeight quarters. The first big step, right and left, thirteen quarters, namely a total of twentysix quarters. The width of the three remaining steps, both right and left, progressively diminishes by a quarter. The collars of the four steps bulge out on each of the four steps a fourth of a quarter. The width of the basis of the pentola resting on those both to the right and to the left is resting on those both to the right and to the left is nine quarters, that is a total of eighteen quarters. The width of the pentola at the basis both to the right and to the left is eight quarters; one above the other goes enlarging and therefore above between the eighth and tenth part, the width in a straight line both to the right and left is a total of twentyone quarters. Furthermore, the upper part of the pentola is three quarters and one-third (high) and in proportion roundish till it is of the same width as the basis.

In this way the width of the first step is equal to the distance passing between this very first step and umbrella, that is to say, six modules and two quarters.

To perform the consecration(1) of the interior, on the eastern and southern side of the fourth gradient one has to carve a window called "illumination of darkness" which has to be an eighth part of that very step.

The "soul of wood" has to be inserted on the fourth step. The base of the seat of the staio has for each side, starting from the axis, two quarters and nine-tenths. Above that rests the seat of the staio which is of two quarters; the staio should have for every side, left and right of the axis two quarters and two-thirds of a quarter. A quarter and a half is for the basis of the lotus, on which rests the elevation of the umbrellas, while the width in the upper part, both

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(1) It seems to me that the expression *nań khon sań gi dbań btan na* has to be understood like this.

right and left of the axis, has to be two quarters. The width, right and left of the first wheel, is two quarters and a half, that is a total of five quarters. The width of the first umbrella is two quarters and two-thirds each side, that is a total of five quarters and one-third. The thirteenth wheel, to right and left (of the axis), is half a quarter plus one-eighth, in total the diameter is of one quarter and one-fourth, and the circumference three quarters and three-fourth of a quarter. Between these two wheels (that is the first and the thirteenth) the eleven intermediary wheels gradually get smaller. These (proportions) are determined by drawing a line with a cord from the top extremity of the thirteenth wheel to the bottom extremity of the first. The umbrella of the top to the right and left of the axis is two-thirds; the proportion of all the other umbrellas is determined by drawing a line from the top summit of the thirteenth umbrella to the bottom extremity of the first. The width of the basis of the "formula of compassion" is equal to that of the thirteenth wheel. If the height is polished, then it tapers till in its top part it is a quarter on each side starting from the middle line.

The width of the point of union of the sixteen foldings, to the right and left of the axis, is a quarter and a half, plus three-eighths. The basis of the cover of the umbrella, right and left of the axis, is half a quarter and one-fourth. The width of the top, to the right and left of the line of basis, is two quarters; while the rim is two quarters and a half high and the width, to the right and left of the axis, is three quarters each side (that is) equal to the top umbrella. The divarication of the two points of the moon, from each side of the axis, is two quarters and [the height of the point] is similar to the fundamental internal height (give above) that is a quarter each side(1). For the radius of the sun is of a quarter: the width of the pinnacle right and left of the axis is half a quarter.

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(1) First, speaking about the height, we have given the height of the thicker part of the moon, whose centre passes through the axis; now is given the height with which the two points project above that.

In the corner (of the conjunction) of the sun and the moon, in the pinnacle are inserted many small pointed rods of iron for protection against birds. Regarding the colour to be given to the various parts, the pinnacle is yellow, the sun is red, the moon and the "cover" of the umbrella are white, the umbrella blue On the four sides are to be drawn the symbols of the "four divine races". The colour of the "foldings" of the "compassion" has to be red, while the "compassion" is yellow; the "male wheels" of the "wheels of the Law" must be yellow, while the 'female wheels" must be red; the stupa is white, the umbrella blue, the "ten meritorious deeds" yellow, the basement green, the three [small] steps, starting from below red, blue and yellow, the face of the lion white, the fringe blue, the collar red, the frame green. Then the height of the basement is three quarters; for the three stairs a quarter each; for the "big face" a module and two quarters; for the fringe and collar a quarter each. For the frame two quarters. The width of the basement, to the right and left, is of nineteen quarters and a half for each side. The first stair to the right and left (of the axis) is seventeen quarters and a half: the second, right and left, sixteen, the third, right and left, fourteen and a half. The "big face", right and left, is thirteen quarters each side: the fringe, the collar and the frame, right and left, respectively fourteen, fifteen, sixteen quarters each side.

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To the above-quoted sources one may add a short chapter of the complete works of Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma, who also takes as model the stupa of illumination(1) and states its proportions in a way slightly different from those expressed in the two texts translated by me. It starts with two lines: one vertically and the other horizontally intersecting at a right angle and includes also the "throne" in the essential parts of the stupa (mchod-rten). Thus the entire height of the stupa, from the basis *(sa-bteg, sa-ḥdzin)* to the top represented by the axis, is subdivided in sixteen modules; every module, in its turn, is subdivided in four quarters, and this gives a unity of measure identical to those expressed above. The measures that he gives, and that are not completed, are as follows:

Height		Width (to the right and left of the axis)
basement ——————quarters	3	21
stairs ——————————	1	19, 17, 15
(for each beginning from below)		
big face ——————————	6	13
fringe ——————————	1	
frame, starting from below(1)	2½	18, 17, 14
ten meritorious deeds ————	1	13½
four big steps ————————	2	12, 11, 10, 9
seat of the pentola ——————	1	8½
pentola ————————	12½	10 till the 9th part, then for the other 3 parts, it tapers
base of the staio ———————	1	
lotus ——————————	1	2
13 wheels ————————	13	
formula of compassion ———	1	like the thirteenth wheel (=½)
umbrella ————————	1½	equal to the seventh wheel
cover ——————————	½	equal to the sixth wheel
moon ——————————	1	equal to the umbrella
sun ——————————	2	2
pinnacle ————————	1	1

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(1) Chapter MA of his complete works *(gsuṅ-ḥbum): bzo daṅ gso-ba.*

(1) *Ba-gam dpaṅs-su phyed-gsum-mo;* in this way ½ quarter is missing.

APPENDIX II.

The fight between Vajrapaṇi and Mahādeva

TEXT

अथ भगवान्सर्वतथागतसमयाकर्षणवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं सर्वतथागतसमयाङ्कुशं नाम सर्वतथागतहृदयं स्वहृदयान्निश्चचार ॥ ङुं टक्किऽज्जः ॥ अथास्मिं विनिःसृतमात्रे सर्वलोकधातुप्रसरसमुद्रेषु यावन्तस्त्रैलोक्याधिपतयो महेश्वरादयस्ते सर्वे सर्वलोकसन्निवेशगणपरिवृता अशेषानवशेषाः सर्वतथागतसमयवज्राङ्कुशेनाकृष्टाः समाना येन सुमेरुगिरिमूर्धा येन च वज्रमणिरत्नशिखरकूटागारस्तेनोपसंक्रम्य भगवतो वज्रमणिरत्नशिखरकूटागारस्य सर्वतः परिवार्यावस्थिता अभूवन् ॥ अथ वज्रपाणिस्तद्वज्रं स्वहृदयादुल्लालयन् सर्वावत्तं सकलत्रैधातुकं त्रिलोकचक्रमवलोक्यैवमाह । प्रतिपद्यत मार्षाः सर्वतथागतशासने मम चाज्ञां पालयत । अथ त एवमाहुः । कथं प्रतिपद्यामः । भगवान् वज्रपाणिराह । बुद्धं धर्मं सङ्घं च शरणप्रतिपत्तितः । सर्वज्ञाज्ञानलाभाय प्रतिपद्यध्वं मार्षा इति ॥ अथ योऽस्मिन् लोकधातौ सकलत्रैलोक्याधिपतिर्महादेवः सर्वत्रैलोक्याधिपत्यगर्वितो महाक्रोधतां दर्शयन्नेवमाह ॥ अहं भो

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(1) See above p.93 note 2

यक्ष त्रैलोक्याधिपतिरीश्वरः कर्ताधिकर्ता सर्वभूवनेश्वरो देवातिदेवो महादेवः । तत्कथमहं यक्षाज्ञां करिष्यामीति ॥ अथ वज्रपाणिः पुनरपि वज्रमुज्ज्वालयन्नाज्ञापयति । भो दुष्टसत्त्व शीघ्रं प्रविश मण्डलं मम च समये तिष्ठ ॥ अथ महादेवो देवो भगवन्तमिदमवोचत् । कोऽयं भगवन्नीदृशः सत्त्वो योऽयमीश्वरस्यैवमाज्ञां ददाति ॥ अथ भगवान् सर्वावन्तं महेश्वरादित्रैलोक्यगणमाहूयैवमाह । प्रतिपद्यत मार्षास्त्रिशरणगमनसमयसंवरे मायं वज्रपाणिर्यक्षः क्रूरः क्रोधनश्चण्डो महाबोधिसत्त्वश्च वो दीप्तेन वज्रेण सकलमेव त्रैधातुकं नाशयेदिति । अथ महेश्वरः सकलत्रैलोक्याधिपत्यतया स्वज्ञानवशितया च भगवतो वज्रपाणेः सन्दर्शनार्थं महाचण्डक्रोधतां महाभैरवरूपतां महाज्वालोत्सृजनतां महारौद्राट्टहासतां मह गणैः सन्दर्शयन्नेवमाह । अहं भोः सकलत्रैलोक्याधिपः । त्वां ममाज्ञां ददामीति । अथ वज्रपाणिस्तद्वज्रमुज्ज्वालयन् विहसन्नेवमाह । प्रतिपद्यस्व भो कटपूतनमानुषमांसाहारचितिभस्मभक्ष्यभोज्यशय्यासनप्रावरणा ममाज्ञामिति । अथ महेश्वरो महादेवः सकलं त्रैलोक्यं महाक्रोधाविष्टमधिष्ठाय एवमाह । त्वमपि ममाज्ञां पालय समये च प्रतिपद्यस्वेति । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाक्रोधराजो भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । अयं भगवन्महादेवो देवः स्वज्ञानबलगर्वान्महैश्वर्याद्याधिपत्यांश्च सर्वतथागतशासने न प्रणमति । तत्कथमस्य क्रियत इति ॥ अथ भगवान्सर्वतथागतहृदयसंभूतं महावज्रसमयं स्मारयति ॥ ओं निशुम्भ वज्र हुं फट् ॥ अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाबोधिसत्त्वः स्ववज्रहृदयमुदाजहार ॥ हुं ॥ अथास्मिं भाषितमात्रे सकलत्रैधातुकसन्निपतिता महादेवादयः सर्वत्रैलोक्याधिपतयोऽधामुखाः प्रपतिता आर्तस्वरं मुंचन्तो भगवतो वज्रपाणेश्च शरणं

गताः । स च महादेवो देवो भूम्यां प्रपतितो निश्चेष्टीभूतो मृतः । अथ भगवान् जानन्नेव वज्रपाणिमेवमाह । प्रतिपद्यस्व वज्रपाणे अस्य सकलत्रिलोकचक्रस्याभयाय मा पंचत्वमापादय । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाक्रोधराजो भगवतो वचनमुपश्रुत्य तान् सर्वदेवादीनाहूयैवमाह । बुद्धं धर्म सङ्घं च शरणं प्रतिपद्यत ममाज्ञाकारितायां च यदीष्टं वः स्वजीवितमिति ॥ अथ त एवमाहुः । संबुद्धधर्मसङ्घं शरणं गच्छामः त्वच्छासनाज्ञां न जानीम इति ॥ अथ भगवान् वैरोचनस्तथागतस्तानाहूयैवमाह । अयं भो देवा ऽस्माकं सर्वतथागताधिपतिः सर्वतथागतपिता सर्वतथागताज्ञाकरः सर्वतथागतज्येष्ठपुत्रो भगवान्समन्तभद्रो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वः सर्वसत्त्वविनयनकार्यकरणतया महाक्रोधराज्यतायामभिषिक्तः । तत्कस्माद्धेतोः । सन्ति युष्मन्मध्ये महादेवादयो दुष्टगणास्ते सर्वतथागतैरपि न शक्यः सात्ततया पापेभ्यो निवारयितुं । तेषां पापसत्त्वानां निग्रहायाधिष्ठितस्तद्युस्माभिरस्य समये स्थातव्यमित्याज्ञा इति ॥ त एवमाहुरस्माकं भगवन्नस्माज्जीवितविप्रलोपात्परित्रायस्व ॥ यामाज्ञां दास्यति तत्करिष्यामह इति । भगवानाह । हं भो मार्षा एतमेव शरणं गच्छतायमेव वः परित्रास्यति नान्य इति । अथ ते त्रिलोकसकलत्रैधातुकसन्निपतिताः त्रिभुवनपतयो येन भगवान् वज्रधरस्तेनाभिमुखा एककण्ठा महार्तस्वरान् प्रमुंचन्त एवमाहुः । परित्रायस्व भो भगवन् परित्रायस्व · · अतो मरणदुःखादिति । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाबोधिसत्त्वस्तान् देवादीनाहूयैवमाह । हं भो दुष्टाः प्रतिपद्यत मम शासने मा वोऽहमनेन वज्रेण एकज्वालीकृत्य सर्वानेव भस्मीकुर्यामिति ॥ त एवमाहुः । समन्तभद्रस्त्वं भगवन् सर्वतथागतचित्तोत्पादः · · · · सर्वसत्त्वहितैषी सर्वसत्त्वा-

भयप्रदः । तत्कथं भगवन्नस्माकं निर्देक्ष्यसीति । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाक्रोधराजस्तानेवमाह । तेनैवा[हं] मार्षाः समन्तभद्रो येन सर्वतथागताज्ञाकारित्वायुष्मद्विधानां दुष्टसत्त्वजातीयानां पापचित्तानां संबोधनार्थाय । विनाशयामि यदि मत्समये न तिष्ठत इति । ते प्राहुरेवमस्त्विति । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाक्रोधराजो महेश्वरं मुक्त्वान्यान् देवानाश्वास्योत्थापनार्थमिदं वज्रोत्तिष्ठं नाम सर्वतथागतहृदयमभाषत् ॥ वज्रोत्तिष्ठ ॥ अथास्मिं भाषितमात्रे महेश्वरं मुक्त्वा सर्वे ते त्रिधातुकसन्निपतितास्त्रिभुवनपतयः सपरिवाराः संमूर्छिताः समानाः समाश्वस्तहृदया अभूवन् ॥ दिव्यानि सुखान्यनुभवन्तो विगतभयस्तंभितरोमहर्षा भगवन्तं वज्रपाणिमवलोकयन्तः समुत्थिता इति ॥ अथ भगवान् वज्रपाणिं बोधिसत्त्वमामन्त्रयामास । अयं महासत्त्वो महादेवो देवाधिपतिर्नोत्थापितः तत्किमस्य जीवितविप्रणाशेन कृतेन । जीवापयैनं सत्पुरुषो ऽयं भविष्यतीति ॥ अथ वज्रपाणिरेवमस्त्विति कृत्वेदं मृतसंजीवनहृदयमुदाजहार ॥ वज्रायुः ॥ अथास्मिं भाषितमात्रे महादेवो देवो मृतः संजीव्योत्थातुमिच्छति न शक्नोत्युत्थातुं । ततो भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । किमहं भगवता एवं शास्यामि । भगवानाह । न त्वं प्रतिपद्यस्यस्य महासत्पुरुषस्याज्ञां कर्तुं । अयमेव तेऽनुशास्ति नाहं ॥ महेश्वरः प्राह । किं न त्वं भगवं शक्तो ऽस्माद्दुष्टसत्त्वात्परित्रातुमिति । भगवानाह । नाहमस्मात्समर्थः परित्रातुं । आह । तत्कस्माद्धेतोः । आह । सर्वतथागताधिपतित्वात् । आह । नाहं भगवन् भगवतो भाषितस्यार्थमाजाने किन्तु यत्र हि नाम तथागतानामपि सर्वत्रैधातुकाधिपतीनामन्यो ऽधिपतिस्तन्न जाने कोऽयमिति ॥ अथ भगवान् वज्रपाणिर्महाबोधिसत्त्वः पुनरपि महादेवमाहूयैवमाह । न प्रतिप[द्यसि] दुष्टसत्त्व ममाज्ञां कर्तुमिति । अथ महादेवो वज्रसत्त्ववचनमुपश्रुत्य कुपितश्चण्डीभूतस्तथापतित एव पुनरपि महारौद्ररूपतां दर्शयत्येवमाह । मरणमप्युत्सहामि न च तवाज्ञां करिष्यामि । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महाबोधिसत्त्वो महाकोपतां सन्दर्शयन् स्वक्रमतलादिद् · · · रं निश्चचार । ओं पादाकर्षणवज्र हूं ॥ अथ भगवतश्चरणतलात्समन्तज्वालागर्भः कृतभ्रुकुटिदंष्ट्राकरालमहावक्त्रो वज्रानुचरो[वज्रपा]णेः पुरतः स्थित्वाज्ञां मार्गयामास । अथ वज्रपाणिर्महेश्वरसंशोधननिमित्तमेवमाह । ओं पादाकर्षाकर्षय सर्ववज्रध · · · · · · · वज्र हूं जः ॥ अथैवमुक्ते महादेव उमादेवीसहित ऊर्ध्वपादो नग्नः सर्वजगद्भिरुपहस्यमानः पादाकर्षणवज्रानुचरेण भगव[तो वज्रपा]णेः पुरतः पादतले स्थापित इति ॥ अथ वज्रपाणिर्बोधिसत्त्वो भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । अयं भगवन् दुष्टसत्त्वः सपत्नीकः किङ्करोमी[ति] । भगवानाह । ओं वज्राक्रमहोः ॥ अथैवमुक्ते वज्रपाणिर्महाबोधिसत्त्वो महादेवं वामपादाक्रान्तं कृत्वा दक्षिणेन चोमा · · · · · · यन्निदं स्वहृदयमुदाजहार ॥ ओं वज्राविश · हन पात्रं त्रट् ॥ अथास्मिं भाषितमात्रे महादेवं समाविष्टं स्वकरसहस्रेण · [गता]सुमहनत् । अथ वज्रमणिरत्नशिखरकूटागारस्य बाह्यतः सर्वत्रिभुवनैर्महानादो मुक्तः । अयं सो ऽस्माकमधिपतिरनेन महात्मना · · · · · । अथ भगवान्महादेवस्या[विष्टस्य] महाकरुणामुत्पाद्य इदं सर्वबुद्धमैत्रीहृदयमभाषत् ॥ ओं बुद्धमैत्रीवज्र रक्ष हूं ॥ अथास्मिन् भाषितमात्रे महादेवस्य तदावेशदुःखमुपशान्तं । तच्च वज्रपाणिपादतलस्पर्शमनुत्तरसिद्ध्यभिषेकसमाधिविमोक्षधारणीज्ञानाभिज्ञावाप्तये यावत्तथागतत्वाय संवृत्त इति ॥ अथ महादेवो भगवत्पादतलस्पर्शात्स-

र्वतथागतसमाधिधारणीविमोक्षसुखान्यनुभवन् महादेवकायं वज्रपाणिपादमूले निर्यातयित्वाधस्ताद्द्वात्रिंशद्गङ्गानदीवालुकोपमलोकधातुपरमाणुरजःसमालोकधातवोऽतिक्रम्य भस्माच्छन्नो नाम लोकधातुस्तत्र भस्मेश्वरनिर्घोषो नाम तथागत उत्पन्नः ।

TRANSLATION

Then the Blessed One entered in that condition of ecstasis called the diamond of initiatic attraction of all the Tathāgatas and then from his heart let come out that essential formula of all Tathāgatas called "the intiatic hook of all the Tathāgatas", that is *huṁ ṭakki jjaḥ*. As soon as this formula emanated, all the lords of the three worlds, like Maheśvara etc, in the oceans embracing all the universes, surrounded by the troops (of their acolytes) presiding over the worlds, all till the very last, were attracted by the initiatic hook of all the Tathāgatas and approached the palace with towers of precious stones, gems and diamonds that rises on the top of Mount Sumeru and then stopped, surrounding from all sides the palace with the towers of precious stones, gems and diamonds where stays the Blessed One. Then Vajrapāṇi taking out the vajra from his heart and shaking it, looking at all the three worlds of the triple universe, says: "Do accept, oh noble ones, the teaching of all the Tathāgatas and execute my orders". They say: "How may we accept it?". Said the Blessed Vajrapāṇi: "By accepting to take refuge in the Buddha, in his Law and in the Order, oh noble ones; accept it, hence you can obtain the wisdom of the All-knowing". But then Mahādeva who in this universe is the lord of all the three worlds, proud of the mastership of the trimundium, showing his anger, said: "I, oh ogre, I am Īśvara the lord of the three worlds, creator, first creator, master of all earths, supreme god of the gods, Mahādeva. How could I, then, respect the orders of an ogre?" Then Vajrapāṇi, again shaking the vajra, repeats the order: "Oh worst creature, enter immediately in the maṇḍala and stay in my teaching". Then the god Mahādeva said to the Blessed One: "Who is, Oh Blessed One, such a creature that so orders Isvara?" Then the Blessed One called to himself all the crowd of the gods of the trimundium, Mahādeva etc. and said: "Enter, oh noble ones, in the initiatic vow consisting of taking refuge in the Buddha, in the Law, and in the Order. Be alert, otherwise this ogre Vajrapāṇi, ferocious, angered, violent, this great Bodhisattva, with his fiery vajra, will destroy the whole triple universe". Then Maheśvara, moved by the pride of being the supreme lord of the three worlds and by his science, in order to prove to the Blessed Vajrapāṇi, together with his retinue, showed his violent anger, his extremely terrific form, his ability to emanate from his own body tongues of fire, his terrible grimace; and said: "I am the lord of the trimundium, it is we who give you orders". But Vajrapāṇi, shaking his vajra, answered him smiling: "Do accept my teaching, you who eat carrions, corpses and human flesh, who cover yourself and nourish with the ashes of the pyres or on them you sit and lie down". Then Maheśvara resting on the three worlds, after having pervaded them with the strength of his anger, said: "You too respect my order and accept my invitation". But Vajrapāṇi, the great king of anger, said to the Blessed One: "This god Mahādeva, proud of his strength and of his science, arrogant of his power and his lordship, does not pay homage to the Law of the Tathāgata. What should be done to him?" Then the Blessed One reminds him of the great initiation of diamond become the essential formula of all the Tathāgatas: *oṁ niśumbha vajra hūṁ phaṭ*. Then Vajrapāṇi, the great Bodhisattva, pronounced the essential formula of his own vajra: *hūṁ*. As soon as he did pronounce it all the gods of the trimundium, collected in the triple universe like Maheśvara etc. precipitated below, with the mouth downward, and, emitting wailing cries, took refuge in the Blessed Vajrapāṇi. And the god Maheśvara, fallen on earth, remained immobile, dead. Then the Blessed One, who knows everything, said to Vajrapāṇi: "Resolve yourself O Vajrapāṇi, to give immunity to this circle of the entire trimundium, do not let them die". Then Vajrapaṇi, the great king of anger, listening to the words of the Blessed One, called all those gods with their retinues, and said: "Do accept to take refuge in the Buddha, in his Law, in the Order and if life is dear to you execute my order". And all of them said: "We take refuge in the Buddha, in the Law, and in the Order, but we do not know what is your command". Then the Blessed Vairocana, the Tathāgata, called them and said: "Oh gods, he is the supreme lord ~~of~~ all the Tathāgatas, the father of all the Tathagatas, he who executes the commands of all the Tathāgatas, the Blessed Samantabhadra, the Bodhisattva, the great creature, who has been consecrated king in the kingdom of great anger, to perform what is needed so that all beings be converted. Why so? There are among you worst of creatures, as Mahādeva etc. whom even the Tathāgatas cannot completely keep from doing evil. He is in charge of punishing all evil beings. Therefore, you have to remain in his initiation. This is the command". Then they said: "O Lord, protect us from this danger to life that weighs upon us. We will perform the command he gives us". The Blessed One said: "Have faith in the Triple Refuge: only he, nobody else, is able to protect you" Then the lords of the trimundium, all who had assembled there from all the universes, turning their faces towards the place where the Blessed Vajradhara was, with a single voice, bursting out in lamenting cries, said: "Defend us, O Blessed One, defend us from this mortal danger". Then Vajrapāṇi, the great Bodhisattva, called all those gods and said to them: "O perverted ones, accept my teachings, because I, burning you with this vajra, will not reduce all of you to ashes". They answered: "You, O Samantabhadra, O Blessed, are the thought of the supreme illumination of all the Tathāgatas; you wish the good of all creatures; you grant protection to all creatures. How is it, then, O Blessed, that you could burn us?" Then Vajrapāṇi, the great king of anger, said: "It is exactly for this

that I am called Samantabhadra; because, by having to execute the order given to me by the Tathāgatas, my task is to awaken the thought of the right Law in perverted creatures and from bad thoughts as you are. I will destroy you if you will not remain in my initiation". "All right" they answered. Then Vajrapāṇi, the king of great anger, comforted all those gods, except Mahādeva, and with the intention of lifting them up from the earth, pronounced that essential formula of all the Tathāgatas called *Vajrottiṣṭha* and which is *vajrottiṣṭha.* As soon as this formula was pronounced, all the lords of the trimundium, as many as had collected from the triple universe, together with their retinues, giddy that they were, then had their hearts comforted again. Feeling a divine blessing, now devoid of every fear, quivering with joy, looking at Vajrapāṇi, got up from the earth. But then the Blessed One turned to Vajrapāṇi with these terms: "O highest creature, Mahādeva, the lord of the gods, did not get up from the earth. What advantage will it be if he would die? Give him back his life so that he will become a good creature". Vajrapāṇi agreed and pronounced the formula called "raiser of the dead": *vajrāyuḥ.* As soon as this formula was pronounced, the god Mahādeva, arose from death to life, tried to get up from the earth, but he could not. Then he said to the Blessed One: "How is it, O Blessed One, that I am so punished?" The Blessed One answered: "You do not accept to obey the command of this highest and perfect creature. He is punishing you, not I". Maheśvara said: "How, then, O Blessed One you are not able to protect from this evil one?" The Blessed One replied: "No, I am not able to protect". "Why?" "Because this one is the supreme lord of all the Tathāgatas". "I, O Blessed One, am not able to understand the meaning of your words, i.e. that there be a supreme lord of the Tathāgatas, who are the lords of the universe. I do not know who is he". Then Vajrapāṇi, the great Bodhisattva, called again Mahādeva, and said to him: "Do you not accept, then, oh worst creature, to respect my commands?" Then Mahādeva, heard the words of Vajrapāṇi, became angry and though lying in such a way on the floor, again showed his terrific figure and said: "I rather prefer to die than execute your commands". Then Vajrapāṇi, the great Bodhisattva, showing his aspect termed ferocious, took out from the sole of his feet this . . . . *oṁ pādākarṣaṇa vajra hūṁ.* Then from the sole of the feet of the Blessed One an adamantine servant came out in the midst of a halo of flames, his face terrific because of his (protruding) teeth and frowning brow, stopped before Vajrapāni and awaited his orders. Then Vajrapāṇi, with the intention of waking up Maheśvara (to goodness) said: *oṁ pāda-karṣākarṣaya sarva-vajra-dha . . . vajra hūṁ.* As soon as he had said so Mahādeva and Umā with their feet in air, naked, became an object of laughter for all, were deposed in front of the feet of Vajrapāṇi by the adamantine servant who dragged them by the feet. Then the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi said to the Blessed One: "This, O Blessed One, together with his wife is the worst creature. What should I do of him?" The Blessed One answered: *oṁ vajrākrama hoḥ.* As soon as he said that, Vajrapāṇi the great bodhisattva put his left foot on the body of Mahādeva and the right on [the breast of] Umā and then pronounced this formula of his own: *oṁ vajrā-visa hana pātraṁ traṭ.* As he said thus, Mahādeva, defeated, with his thousand hands he hit and made to convey out of him his vital breath. Then the inhabitants of the three worlds who were outside the palace of the diamond towers of gems and precious stones uttered a great cry: "He who is our lord by this highest creature [has been killed]". Then the Blessed One felt great compassion for Mahādeva thus overpowered and said this essential formula which expresses the compassion of all the Buddhas: *oṁ Buddha-maitrī-vajra rakṣa hūṁ.* As soon as he had said so, the suffering that Mahādeva felt for having been so overcome, calmed down. And he became a vehicle for the attainment of the initiation into the maximum powers of the ecstasies, of the meditation conducive to liberation, of the knowledge of esoteric formulas, of the mystic faculties and lastly of the state of Tathāgata. And then Mahadeva through the contact of the sole of the feet of the Blessed One experienced the ecstasies, the esoteric formulas, the meditation

conducive to liberation and belongs to all the Tathagatas, and offering his own body, his body of Mahādeva, to the feet of Vajrapāṇi, became the Tathāgata Bhasmesvara-nirghosa, in the universe called Bhasmacchanna, which is below, beyond several worlds, as many as are the atoms of worlds as numerous as the grains of sand that thirtytwo rivers like the Gaṅga may contain.